READINGS · IN MODERN · EUROPEAN · HISTORY

VOLUME I

ROBINSON · AND · BEARD

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WITHDRAWN

READINGS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A collection of extracts from the sources chosen with the purpose of illustrating some of the chief phases of the development of Europe during the last two hundred years

BY

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VOLUME I

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD

GINN AND COMPANY

BOSTON · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · LONDON

ATLANTA · DALLAS · COLUMBUS · SAN FRANCISCO

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830.11

The Athenæum Press
GINN AND COMPANY · PROPRIETORS · BOSTON · U.S.A.

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PREFACE

However carefully and judiciously a historical manual may be prepared, it is impossible in its brief, compact statements of the fundamental facts to give a lively sense of the reality of the events, conditions, and motives with which it deals. The student is only too likely to learn and repeat the words of the book as mere formulas which fail to stimulate real thought and interest. In order to meet this difficulty and give the text-book its proper background and atmosphere the student must be brought here and there within reach of the living springs of our knowledge and see the very words of those who, writing when the past was present, can carry us back to themselves and make their times our own.

These two volumes have, accordingly, been prepared to accompany chapter by chapter and section by section our *Development of Modern Europe*. The task of selection involved more complications and difficulties than one who has not attempted it would suspect. We cannot claim in every case to have discovered the most pertinent and illuminating extract to meet a particular need; but we trust that all that we have included will prove to have some interest, and that a great deal is not only of first-rate importance but is also vivid and impressive. We have borrowed to some extent from the second volume of Robinson's *Readings in European History*, since we could not afford to omit a number of

the documents which it gives. Indeed we felt that we could hardly hope to improve appreciably the chapters relating to the French Revolution and Napoleon, and have embodied them in the present volume with but slight changes.

The bibliographies in the appendix are merely introductory and make no claim to do more than start the student on the path to a really thorough study of the field. If, however, he familiarizes himself with even the more important of the books mentioned, he will have no trouble in steadily widening, by his own efforts, his knowledge of the authorities and sources relating to modern history.

J. H. R.
C. A. B.

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CHAPTER I

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

Section 1. France before Louis XIV

Richelieu was evidently very desirous to leave to posterity a full account of his deeds and a complete justification of his policy. He undertook to collect material for an elaborate history of the reign of Louis XIII, but fearing that his frail constitution would never permit him to complete the work, he conceived it to be his duty to leave a brief statement, at least, of the most needed reforms, as a guide for the king when his minister should be dead. In this way Richelieu's famous "Political Testament" originated. It opens as follows:

1. Richelieu's account of the condition of France when he became minister in 1624

At the time when your Majesty resolved to admit me to your council and to an important place in your confidence and in the direction of your affairs, I may say that the Huguenots shared the State with you; that the nobles conducted themselves as if they were not your subjects, and the most powerful governors of the provinces as if they were sovereign in their offices. . . .

I may say that every one measured his own merit by his audacity; that in place of estimating the benefits which they

received from your Majesty at their proper worth, all valued them only in so far as they satisfied the extravagant demands of their imagination; that the most unscrupulous were held to be the wisest, and found themselves the most prosperous.

I may also say that the foreign alliances were unfortunate, individual interests being preferred to those of the public; in a word, the dignity of the royal majesty was so disparaged, and so different from what it should be, owing to the malfeasance of those who conducted your affairs, that it was almost impossible to perceive its existence. . . .

Thoughtful observers did not think that it would be possible to escape all the rocks in so tempestuous a period; the court was full of people who censured the temerity of those who wished to undertake a reform; all well knew that princes are quick to impute to those who are near them the bad outcome of the undertakings upon which they have been well advised; few people consequently expected good results from the change which it was announced that I wished to make, and many believed my fall assured even before your Majesty had elevated me.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, which I represented to your Majesty, knowing how much kings may do when they make good use of their power, I ventured to promise you, with confidence, that you would soon get control of your State, and that in a short time your prudence, your courage, and the benediction of God would give a new aspect to the realm.

I promised your Majesty to employ all my industry and all the authority which it should please you to give me to ruin the Huguenot party, to abase the pride of the nobles, to bring back all your subjects to their duty, and to elevate your name among foreign nations to the point where it belongs.

Sir William Temple, an able English diplomat and man of letters, gives a striking picture of the flourishing condition of France during the first half of Louis XIV's reign. This he attributes largely to the wise policy of Richelieu and Mazarin.

2. Sir William Temple's account of France in 1671 (The English is slightly modernized)

The crown of France, considered in the extent of country, in the number of people, in the riches of commodities, in the revenues of the king, the greatness of the land forces now on foot, and the growth of those at sea (within these two years past), the number and bravery of its officers, the conduct of its ministers, and chiefly in the genius of its present king, a prince of great aspiring thoughts, unwearied application to whatever is in pursuit, severe in the establishment and preservation of order and discipline; in the main a manager of his treasure and yet naturally bountiful whenever he intends to bestow the marks of favor or discerns particular merit; in the flower of his age, at the head of all his armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his attempts either at home or abroad — I say, considered in all these circumstances, France appears to be designed for greater achievements and empires than have been seen in Christendom since that of Charlemagne.

Important services of Richelieu and Mazarin

The present greatness of this crown may be chiefly attributed to the fortune it has had in two great ministers [Richelieu and Mazarin] succeeding one another, between two great kings, Henry IV and this present prince; so that during the course of one inactive life and of a long minority that crown gained a great deal of ground both at home and abroad, instead of losing it, which is the common fate of kingdoms upon those occasions.

The later greatness of this crown began in the time of Louis XI, who proposed to bring the government into his own hands. . . . 'T is not here necessary to observe by what difficulties and dangers to the crown this design of Louis was pursued by many succeeding kings, — like a great stone forced up a hill, and, upon every slacking of either strength or care, rolling a great way back, often to the very bottom of the hill, and sometimes with the destruction of those that forced it on, — till the time of Cardinal Richelieu. It was this great minister most to be admired that, finding the regency shaken by the factions of so many great ones within, and awed by the terror of the Spanish greatness without, durst resolve to look them both in the face, and begin a war by the course of which for so many years (being continued by Mazarin till the

year 1660) the crown of France grew to be powerfully armed; the peasants were accustomed to payments (which could have seemed necessary only in time of war, and which none but a successful one could have helped to make tolerable) and grew stolid as they grew poor.

The princes were sometimes placated by commands in the army, sometimes mortified and suppressed by the absoluteness or adroitness of the ministry. The most boiling blood of the nobility and gentry was let out in so long a war, or wasted away with age and exercise; at last the war ended in a peace at the Pyrenees and the match so advantageous to France, and the glory of both of these contributed much to the authority of the young king, who was bred up in the councils and served by the tried instruments of the former ministry; but most of all, advantaged by his own personal qualities, fit to make him obeyed, he grew absolute master of the factions of the great men, as well as the purses of his people. . . .

Section 2. Louis XIV (1643–1715)

It is especially difficult with our modern democratic notions to understand the views and sentiments of those who have regarded obedience to the king, however perverse and licentious he might be, as a sacred obligation. Nowhere is the divine nature of the kingly power set forth with more eloquence and ardor than in the work of the distinguished prelate, orator, and theologian, Bossuet, whom Louis XIV chose as the preceptor of his son, the dauphin (1670–1681). His treatise on *Politics drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture* was prepared with a view of giving the heir to the French throne a proper idea both of his lofty position and of his heavy responsibilities. No one can read this work without being profoundly impressed with the irresistible appeal which kingship, as Bossuet represents it, must make to

a mind that looked to the Scriptures for its theories of government.

The essential characteristics of royalty, Bossuet explains, are, first, that it is sacred; second, paternal; third, absolute; and fourth, subject to reason. He then continues as follows:

3. Extracts from Bossuet's work on kingship

We have already seen that all power is of God.[1] The ruler, adds St. Paul, "is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."[2] Rulers then act as the ministers of God and as his lieutenants on earth. It is through them that God exercises his empire. Think ye "to withstand the kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the sons of David"?[3] Consequently, as we have seen, the royal throne is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. . . .

Kingship a divine institution

Moreover, that no one may assume that the Israelites were peculiar in having kings over them who were established by God, note what is said in Ecclesiasticus: "God has given to every people its ruler, and Israel is manifestly reserved to him."[4] He therefore governs all peoples and gives them their kings, although he governed Israel in a more intimate and obvious manner.

It appears from all this that the person of the king is sacred, and that to attack him in any way is sacrilege. . . . Kings should be guarded as holy things, and whosoever neglects to protect them is worthy of death. . . .

Warning to kings to exercise their power in the fear of the Lord

But kings, although their power comes from on high, as has been said, should not regard themselves as masters of that power to use it at their pleasure; . . . they must employ

[1] Referring to St. Paul's words (Romans xiii. 1, 2): "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." [2] See Romans xiii. 1–7.

[3] Chronicles xiii. 8. [4] Ecclesiasticus xvii. 14, 15.

it with fear and self-restraint, as a thing coming from God and of which God will demand an account. "Hear, O kings, and take heed; understand, judges of the earth; lend your ears, ye who hold the peoples under your sway, and delight to see the multitude that surround you. It is God who gives you the power. Your strength comes from the Most High, who will question your works and penetrate the depths of your thoughts, for, being ministers of his kingdom, ye have not given righteous judgments nor have ye walked according to his will. He will straightway appear to you in a terrible manner, for to those who command is the heaviest punishment reserved. The humble and the weak shall receive mercy, but the mighty shall be mightily tormented. For God fears not the power of any one, because he made both great and small and he has care for both."[1] . . .

Kings should tremble then as they use the power God has granted them; and let them think how horrible is the sacrilege if they use for evil a power which comes from God. We behold kings seated upon the throne of the Lord, bearing in their hand the sword which God himself has given them. What profanation, what arrogance, for the unjust king to sit on God's throne, to render decrees contrary to his laws, and to use the sword which God has put in his hand for deeds of violence and to slay his children! . . .

The royal power is absolute

The royal power is absolute. With the aim of making this truth hateful and insufferable, many writers have tried to confound absolute government with arbitrary government. But no two things could be more unlike, as we shall show when we come to speak of justice.

The prince need render account of his acts to no one. "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight: stand not on an evil thing, for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou? Whoso keepeth the commandment shall feel no evil thing."[2] Without this absolute authority the king could neither do good nor repress

[1] Book of Wisdom vi. 2 *sqq.* [2] Ecclesiasticus viii. 2–5.

evil. It is necessary that his power be such that no one can hope to escape him, and, finally, the only protection of individuals against the public authority should be their innocence. This conforms with the teaching of St. Paul: "Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good." [1]

The real grandeur of kings

I do not call majesty that pomp which surrounds kings or that exterior magnificence which dazzles the vulgar. That is but the reflection of majesty and not majesty itself. Majesty is the image of the grandeur of God in the prince.

The whole State embodied in the prince

God is infinite, God is all. The prince, as prince, is not regarded as a private person; he is a public personage; all the State is in him; the will of all the people is included in his. As all perfection and all strength are united in God, so all the power of individuals is united in the person of the prince. What grandeur that a single man should embody so much!

The power of God makes itself felt in a moment from one extremity of the earth to another. Royal power works at the same time throughout all the realm. It holds all the realm in position, as God holds the earth. Should God withdraw his hand, the earth would fall to pieces; should the king's authority cease in the realm, all would be in confusion.

Look at the prince in his cabinet. Thence go out the orders which cause the magistrates and the captains, the citizens and the soldiers, the provinces and the armies on land and on sea, to work in concert. He is the image of God, who, seated on his throne high in the heavens, makes all nature move. . . .

Summary

Finally, let us put together the things so great and so august which we have said about royal authority. Behold an immense people united in a single person; behold this holy power, paternal and absolute; behold the secret cause which governs the whole body of the State, contained in a single head: you see the image of God in the king, and you have the idea of royal majesty. God is holiness itself, goodness itself, and power itself. In these things lies the majesty of God. In the image of these things lies the majesty of the prince.

[1] Romans xiii. 3.

Yet kings are but mortal

So great is this majesty that it cannot reside in the prince as its source; it is borrowed from God, who gives it to him for the good of the people whom it is desirable to check by a superior force. Something of divinity itself is attached to princes and inspires fear in the people. The king should not forget this. "I have said," — it is God who speaks, — "I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." [1] "I have said, Ye are gods"; that is to say, you have in your authority, and you bear on your forehead, a divine imprint. "You are the children of the Most High"; it is he who has established your power for the good of mankind. But, O gods of flesh and blood, gods of clay and dust, "ye shall die like men, and fall like princes." Grandeur separates men for a little time, but a common fall makes them all equal at the end.

O kings, exercise your power then boldly, for it is divine and salutary for human kind, but exercise it with humility. You are endowed with it from without. Know that it leaves you feeble, it leaves you mortal, it leaves you sinners, and charges you before God with a very heavy account.

Saint-Simon, the king of memoir writers, when seventy-two years old, wrote an account of the first three Bourbon kings. The following passage from this work sums up the characteristics of Louis XIV which are exhibited in greater detail throughout Saint-Simon's famous *Memoirs*.

4. Saint-Simon's portrait of Louis XIV

The king's great qualities shone more brilliantly by reason of an exterior so unique and incomparable as to lend infinite distinction to his slightest actions; the very figure of a hero, so impregnated with a natural but most imposing majesty that it appeared even in his most insignificant gestures and movements, without arrogance but with simple gravity; proportions such as a sculptor would choose to model; a perfect countenance and the grandest air and mien ever vouchsafed to man; all these advantages enhanced by a natural grace which enveloped all his actions with a singular charm which has never

[1] Psalm lxxxii. 6, 7.

perhaps been equaled. He was as dignified and majestic in his dressing gown as when dressed in robes of state, or on horseback at the head of his troops.

He excelled in all sorts of exercise and liked to have every facility for it. No fatigue nor stress of weather made any impression on that heroic figure and bearing; drenched with rain or snow, pierced with cold, bathed in sweat or covered with dust, he was always the same. I have often observed with admiration that except in the most extreme and exceptional weather nothing prevented his spending considerable time out of doors every day.

A voice whose tones corresponded with the rest of his person; the ability to speak well and to listen with quick comprehension; much reserve of manner adjusted with exactness to the quality of different persons; a courtesy always grave, always dignified, always distinguished, and suited to the age, rank, and sex of each individual, and, for the ladies, always an air of natural gallantry. So much for his exterior, which has never been equaled nor even approached.

In whatever did not concern what he believed to be his rightful authority and prerogative, he showed a natural kindness of heart and a sense of justice which made one regret the education, the flatteries, the artifice which resulted in preventing him from being his real self except on the rare occasions when he gave way to some natural impulse and showed that — prerogative aside, which choked and stifled everything — he loved truth, justice, order, reason, — that he loved even to let himself be vanquished.

How Louis spent his day

Nothing could be regulated with greater exactitude than were his days and hours. In spite of all his variety of palaces, business, and amusements, with an almanac and a watch one might tell, three hundred leagues away, exactly what he was doing. . . . Except at Marly, any man could have an opportunity to speak to him five or six times during the day; he listened, and almost always replied, "I will see," in order not to accord or decide anything lightly. Never a reply or a speech that would give pain; patient to the last degree in business and in matters of personal service; completely master of his

face, manner, and bearing, he never gave way to impatience or anger. If he administered reproof, it was rarely, in few words, and never hastily. He did not lose control of himself ten times in his whole life, and then only with inferior persons, and not more than four or five times seriously.

Now for Saint-Simon's reverse of the picture:

Outrageous vanity of the king

Louis XIV's vanity was without limit or restraint; it colored everything and convinced him that no one even approached him in military talents, in plans and enterprises, in government. Hence those pictures and inscriptions in the gallery at Versailles which disgust every foreigner; those opera prologues that he himself tried to sing; that flood of prose and verse in his praise for which his appetite was insatiable; those dedications of statues copied from pagan sculpture, and the insipid and sickening compliments that were continually offered to him in person and which he swallowed with unfailing relish; hence his distaste for all merit, intelligence, education, and, most of all, for all independence of character and sentiment in others; his mistakes of judgment in matters of importance; his familiarity and favor reserved entirely for those to whom he felt himself superior in acquirements and ability; and, above everything else, a jealousy of his own authority which determined and took precedence of every other sort of justice, reason, and consideration whatever.

In 1671, when Louis XIV decided upon war with Holland, he honored his commander, the prince of Condé, by a visit to him at Chantilly, where a grand fête was given in the forest, for which elaborate preparations were made by Vatel, the prince of cooks. The following spirited account of the occasion and of the cook's sad end is from a letter of Madame de Sévigné's, whose charming correspondence with her daughter and friends constitutes an important source for the period and for the life at Louis' court.

5. How Louis and his court were entertained by the prince of Condé at Chantilly (1671)

It is Sunday, the 26th of April; this letter will not go till Wednesday. It is not really a letter, but an account, which Moreuil has just given me for your benefit, of what happened at Chantilly concerning Vatel. I wrote you on Friday that he had stabbed himself; here is the story in detail.

The promenade, the collation in a spot carpeted with jonquils, — all was going to perfection. Supper came; the roast failed at one or two tables on account of a number of unexpected guests. This upset Vatel. He said several times, "My honor is lost; this is a humiliation that I cannot endure." To Gourville he said, "My head is swimming; I have not slept for twelve nights; help me to give my orders." Gourville consoled him as best he could, but the roast which had failed, not at the king's, but at the twenty-fifth table, haunted his mind. Gourville told Monsieur le Prince about it, and Monsieur le Prince went up to Vatel in his own room and said to him, "Vatel, all goes well; there never was anything so beautiful as the king's supper." He answered: "Monseigneur, your goodness overwhelms me. I know that the roast failed at two tables." "Nothing of the sort," said Monsieur le Prince. "Do not disturb yourself, — all is well."

Midnight comes. The fireworks do not succeed on account of a cloud that overspreads them (they cost sixteen thousand francs). At four o'clock in the morning Vatel is wandering about all over the place. Everything is asleep. He meets a small purveyor with two loads of fish and asks him, "Is this all?" "Yes, sir." The man did not know that Vatel had sent to all the seaport towns in France. Vatel waits some time, but the other purveyors do not arrive; he gets excited; he thinks that there will be no more fish. He finds Gourville and says to him, "Sir, I shall not be able to survive this disgrace." Gourville only laughs at him. Then Vatel goes up to his own room, puts his sword against the door, and runs it through his heart, but only at the third thrust, for he gave himself two wounds which were not mortal. He falls dead.

Meanwhile the fish is coming in from every side, and people are seeking for Vatel to distribute it. They go to his room, they knock, they burst open the door, they find him lying

bathed in his blood. They send for Monsieur le Prince, who is in utter despair. Monsieur le Duc bursts into tears; it was upon Vatel that his whole journey to Burgundy depended. Monsieur le Prince informed the king, very sadly; they agreed that it all came from Vatel's having his own code of honor, and they praised his courage highly even while they blamed him. The king said that for five years he had delayed his coming because he knew the extreme trouble his visit would cause. He said to Monsieur le Prince that he ought to have but two tables and not burden himself with the responsibility for everybody, and that he would not permit Monsieur le Prince to do so again; but it was too late for poor Vatel.

Gourville, however, tried to repair the loss of Vatel, and did repair it. The dinner was excellent; so was the luncheon. They supped, they walked, they played, they hunted. The scent of jonquils was everywhere; it was all enchanting.

Section 3. Reforms of Colbert (1661–1683)

The finances of France were in an almost chronic state of disorder. It was financial difficulties which were finally to prove the immediate cause of the great French Revolution in 1789. The picture which Colbert gives of the situation before he became minister is, on the whole, a fair account of the conditions which prevailed during the succeeding century and which we find on the eve of the French Revolution.

6. Colbert's account of the financial disorders

As we have had only examples of want and necessity in our finances since the death of Henry IV, it will be well to determine how it has come about that for so long a time there has never been an ample revenue, not even a tolerably satisfactory income, — anything else than dearth and destitution, any approximation of equality between output and revenue. . . .

During the twenty years immediately following the death of Henry IV, the superintendents of the finances either gorged themselves with wealth, — all the other financial officials

following their example, — or, if they were upright men, they did not have sufficient penetration to perceive the abuses, malfeasance, thefts, and waste which went on under cover of their authority, and even under their eyes, so that the State was always in need. It even happened that the incompetency of the superintendents was commonly more prejudicial to the State and the people than their personal thefts, seeing that there never was a time when the superintendents appeared to be more honest than from 1616 to 1630. . . .

But since the expiration of these twenty years the change in the character of the persons chosen to fill this post has not altered the fate of the State; on the contrary, the most pernicious maxims took root in their minds and controlled their conduct and, in the course of time, assumed such strength that even the most able and enlightened persons connected with the government thought that it would be more dangerous to try a new policy than to submit to the existing evils.

It is not astonishing that superintendents of finance regulated their conduct by these maxims, since they found in them two considerable advantages: the first was that in this confusion they enjoyed plenty of opportunity to enrich themselves and to make important gifts to their relatives and friends and to all the persons of the court whose good offices they had need of in order to maintain themselves in all the disorder; and the second, that they were persuaded that this policy rendered their services necessary and that no resolution to remove them could be considered.

7. Commercial policy of Colbert as shown in a letter of the king's (August 26, 1664)

A letter addressed by Louis XIV to the town officers and people of Marseilles in 1664, shortly after Colbert had become the financial head of the realm, clearly shows the active means which the new minister proposed to take to promote the material welfare of France.

Very dear and well beloved:

Considering how advantageous it would be to this realm to reëstablish its foreign and domestic commerce, . . . we have resolved to create a council particularly devoted to commerce,

to be held every fortnight in our presence, in which all the interests of merchants and the means conducive to the revival of commerce shall be considered and determined upon, as well as all that which concerns manufactures.

We also inform you that we are setting apart, among the expenses of our State, a million livres each year for the encouragement of manufactures and the increase of navigation, to say nothing of the considerable sums which we cause to be raised to supply the companies of the East and West Indies;

That we are working constantly to abolish all the tolls which are collected on the navigable rivers;

That there has already been expended more than a million livres for the repair of the public highways, to which we shall also devote our constant attention;

That we will assist by money from our royal treasury all those who wish to reëstablish old manufactures or to undertake new ones; . . .

That all the merchants and traders by sea who purchase vessels, or who build new ones, for traffic or commerce shall receive from us subsidies for each ton of merchandise which they export or import on the said voyages.

We desire, in this present letter, not only to inform you concerning all these things, but to require you, as soon as you have received it, to cause to be assembled all the merchants and traders of your town of Marseilles, and explain to them very particularly our intentions in all matters mentioned above, in order that, being informed of the favorable treatment which we desire to give them, they may be the more desirous of applying themselves to commerce. Let them understand that for everything that concerns the welfare and advantage of the same they are to address themselves to Sieur Colbert. . . .

CHAPTER II

EUROPE AND LOUIS XIV

Section 4. Louis XIV's Attempt to annex the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668)

Louis XIV had his lawyers draw up a formal "Treatise on the Rights of the most Christian Queen [his wife] to various States of the Spanish Monarchy." This he dispatched in 1667 not only to the Spanish government but to all the chief European powers. It is a very unctious document in which he seeks to prove by elaborate reasoning that the renunciation of all claims to the Spanish possessions, which his queen had made upon marrying him, is null and void, and that the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté belong legally to him as her husband. The spirit of the document appears in the opening passages:

8. The preface to the "Treatise on the Rights of the most Christian Queen to the various States of the Spanish Monarchy" (1667)

The most Christian king in endeavoring to maintain the rights of the queen, his spouse, is not actuated by the ambition to gain new territories or the desire to win glory by arms. If the rights of inheritance and the provisions of the local laws did not entitle this illustrious princess to the dominions he claims for her, no advantage or political pretext could tempt him to be guilty of the least injustice; for however he may esteem the rich provinces in question, his honor is dearer to him, and he would sacrifice the title of king sooner than that of a just man. He well knows that a wrongful conquest cannot increase the limits of a state without at the same time diminishing the good fame of its sovereign. . . .

It is in this spirit — so worthy of the piety of the eldest son of the Church — that, before making public his claim, the king desired to obtain the opinion of all the famous universities of Europe; and when he discovered that all legal learning unreservedly supported his cause, he was justified in concluding that such universal agreement rendered it obligatory upon him to defend his legitimate claims. Indeed, it would have been shameful in a king to permit all the rights derived from blood relationship and the laws of inheritance to be violated in his own person, and in that of his wife and son. And inasmuch as he did not lack the power to maintain his right, nor the family affection and courage to enforce it, his neglect to do so could not have failed to give rise to the belief that he had fallen into a species of lethargy fatal to the good of his dominions and shameful to his glory.

As king he was therefore obliged to prevent this injustice; as a husband, to oppose this usurpation; as a father, to assure this patrimony to his son. There was no question of conquering other peoples, but of retaining them. It is not a matter of subjugating territories by arms but of asserting the rights of blood and of nature over peoples in virtue of their own laws. He would not force open the gates, but, like the beneficent sun, he would permit the rays of his love to flood country and town, even to the very houses of individuals, spreading abroad the soft influences of abundance and peace.

Those who will recollect how he generously laid down his arms when he was at the very height of his victories, solely on account of his affectionate solicitude for the peace of Christendom, cannot doubt that it will prove very distasteful to him to resume them once more and behold the flame of war which he has just extinguished [1] again flaming up. But God appointed him king to defend the good of his people, and it would be most unjust to neglect the rights of his own family and refuse them the protection he accords to others.

To what tribunal indeed can he appeal against subjects who should prove themselves oblivious to their own laws, insensible to the love of their sovereign, and rebellious to the decrees of

[1] By the Treaty of Pyrenees, 1659.

Nature and of Providence, who distributes scepters and crowns? Heaven having established no high court on earth from which the rulers of France can demand justice, the king can seek that in his own heart alone, where it always reigns; nor can he seek it except by arms, which have never yet failed to assure it. But he trusts that the fidelity of his former people will cause them to be transported with joy when, after a long eclipse, they once more behold the light of his love.

These motives, dictated by affection and good will for his people, have alone suggested to his most Christian majesty the publication of this treatise. For although he owes no account of his actions to any one except God, the ignorance of his rights might nevertheless foster erroneous impressions as to their true character; he desires, therefore, to make clear to the public the justice of his claims, so that this being understood, he shall first conquer the mind, when his love will not fail to complete the victory won by reason.

That keen-sighted English diplomat, Sir William Temple, already quoted above (pp. 3 *sq.*), sums up briefly the decline of Spain and its weak condition when Louis XIV proposed to seize the Spanish Netherlands in the name of his queen.

9. Sir William on the condition of Spain

The crown of Spain was, in all Philip II's time, looked upon as both the terror and defense of Christendom, no monarchy having ever grasped at so great an empire there, and at the same time pursued an open war against so great a power as the Turks. This greatness was grown up by the union of the house of Castile and Aragon, of that of Burgundy and the Netherlands, with that of Naples and Sicily; by the accession or conquest of Portugal; by that of the Indies, when their mines bled fresh, as they did for many years after their first opening; by the number of brave troops and leaders which were raised and made by the various and continual wars of Charles V; but chiefly by the uninterrupted succession of three great princes, Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip, which can never fail

of raising a small kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary of bringing down a great one to a small.

But whoever measures the crown of Spain now by the scale of that age may fancy a man of fourscore by a picture drawn of him at thirty: 'T is like a great old tree, which has lost its branches and leaves, *et trunco non frondibus efficit umbram.* Though no man knows whether out of this old root a sucker may not spring, that with a little shelter at first, and good seasons, may in time prove a mighty tree; for there seems still to remain strength and sap in the root to furnish a fair growth, though not in proportion to the first.

Causes of the decay of Spain

These decays have been occasioned by so long a war with Holland (supported by all the neighbors, who envied or feared the greatness of Spain); by the exhausting in a great degree of their Indian [i.e. American] mines; by the loss of population in making the Indian conquests and securing all their provinces both in Italy and Flanders; but most of all by two successions of unactive princes, and the want of any great minister to repair either them or the minority of this king [i.e. Charles II], in which they ended.

Unless this crown outgrow its present weakness by some great spirit rising up at the head of the monarchy, who shall digest their counsels, reform the vast and inordinate profusions of their treasures by suppressing all unnecessary pensions and expenses, and restore the vigor of their nation by martial designs and examples, we may reckon the interest of Spain to lie wholly in the preservation and defense of Flanders from France, of Sicily from the Turks, and of their Indies from us. . . .

The English threaten the Spanish control of the West Indies

Their jealousy of their Indies has been much nearer them since our possession of Jamaica; and they ache at heart upon every fit which the desperate sallies of our privateers there bring upon them. But they hope to make fair weather in those seas by opening to us some advantages of trade there, and by a conjunction of interests in Europe, which they think the greatness of France makes as necessary to us as to them.

Section 5. Louis XIV's War against the Dutch (1672–1678)

The manner in which France, supported by England, attacked the Dutch in 1672 and the way in which William of Orange was raised to power is well described by Sir William Temple, who had an excellent chance to know the facts.

10. Sir William Temple on the opening of Louis XIV's attack on the Dutch (1672)

No clap of thunder in a fair frosty day could more astonish the world than our declaration of war against Holland in 1672. . . . This began by our falling upon their Smyrna fleet;[1] this attack (although it failed) was followed by a formal declaration, in which we gave reasons for our quarrel, while the French contented themselves to give no other for their part of it than only the glory of their king. The Dutch could never be possessed with a belief that we were in earnest till the blow was given; but thought our unkindness and expostulations, of late, would end at last either in demands of money, or the prince of Orange's restitution to the authority of his ancestors. . . .

The princes concerned in their safety could not believe, that having saved Flanders out of the hands of France, we would suffer Holland to fall into the same danger; and my lord Arlington told me at that time that the court of France did not believe it themselves till the blow was struck in the attack of the Smyrna fleet; but then they immediately set out their declaration and began their invasion. This surprise made way for their prodigious successes.

The Dutch had made no provision for their defense either at home or abroad; and the Empire, Spain, and Sweden stood at a gaze upon the opening of the war, not knowing upon what agreement between us and France it was begun, nor how far we would suffer the French conquests to proceed. Besides, the animosities of the parties in Holland, long suppressed

[1] In March, 1672, the English, without any warning, attacked, in the Channel, a Dutch fleet of sixty merchant vessels and seven men-of-war returning from the Levant, but only succeeded in capturing four ships, much to their chagrin.

under their new constitution and De Witt's ministry, began to flame again upon this misfortune of their State.

Demand for the restoration of the Prince of Orange

The Prince's friends talked loudly and boldly, that there was no way to satisfy England but restoring the Prince; and that the baseness and cowardice of their troops were the effects of turning out all officers of worth and bravery for their inclinations to the Prince, and bringing mean fellows in for no other desert than their declared enmity to the House of Orange.

Immediate success of the French invaders

Upon this all men expected a sudden change; the Estates General were in disorder, and irresolute what to do; the troops were without a general, and, which is worse, without heart; and though De Ruiter, by admirable conduct, kept the infection of these evils out of his fleet, which was our part to deal with, yet faction, distrust, sedition, and distraction made such entrances upon the Estates and the army, when the French troops first invaded them, that of all the towns and fortresses on the German side (held impregnable in all their former wars) not one besides Maestricht made any show of resistance, and the French became immediately masters of all the inland parts of the provinces, in as little time as travelers usually employ to see and consider them. Maestricht was taken after a short siege, as well as Schenkenschanz [near Nimwegen], by the help of an extreme dry season, that made rivers fordable where they had never been esteemed so before.

The king of France marched as far as Utrecht, where he fixed his camp and his court, and from thence began to consider of the ways how to possess himself of the rest of the country, which was defended only by its situation upon flat lands, which, as they had, by infinite labor in canals and dikes, been either gained or preserved from inundations, so they were subject to them upon opening the sluices, whenever the Dutch found no other way of saving their country but by losing it.

Apprehension of the French that the Dutch might cut the dikes

This, at least, was generally believed in the French camp and court, and, as I have heard, was the preservation of the State; for that king, unwilling to venture the honor and advantage of such conquests as he had made that summer, upon the hazards of a new sort of war with a merciless element, where neither conduct nor courage were of use, resolved to leave the

rest to negotiations of peace with the Estates-General, upon the advantage of the terms he stood in, and the small distance between them; or, if these should not succeed, then he trusted to the frosts of the following winter, which seldom fail in that country to make all passable and safe for troops and carriages themselves, that in summer would be impassable, either from the waters or the depth of soil.

How John De Witt (the grand pensionary of Holland since 1652) was murdered at The Hague (1672)

In the meantime, the State and the government of Holland took a new form, and with it a new heart. Monsieur De Witt and his brother had been massacred by the sudden fury of the people at The Hague. . . . [The brother] had been accused of a design upon the Prince's[1] life, and of endeavoring by money to engage one of his highness's domestics in that attempt; but no other witness appearing, he was sentenced only to be banished; at which the people showed great dissatisfaction, being possessed with an opinion of his guilt.

The morning he was to come out of prison, Monsieur De Witt (against the opinion of his friends) would needs go himself to bring him out with more honor, and carry him out of town; and to that purpose went with his coach and four horses to the court. This, being not usual to this minister, made the people take more notice of it, and gather together tumultuously, first in the streets where he passed, and then about the court where the prisoner was kept. Some of the trained bands of The Hague that were upon the guard mingled among them, and began to rail aloud against the judgment of the court, the crime of one brother, and the insolence of the other, who pretended (as they said) to carry him away in triumph.

In the midst of this heat and passion, raised by this kind of discourses among the populace, the two brothers came out; some of the trained bands stopped them, began to treat them at first with ill language, and from words fell to blows; upon which Monsieur De Witt, foreseeing how the tragedy would end, took his brother by the hand, and was at the same time knocked down by the butt end of a musket. They were both presently laid dead upon the place, then dragged about the town by the fury of the people, and torn in pieces. Thus

[1] I.e. William of Orange

ended one of the greatest lives of any subject in our age, about the forty-seventh year of his own ; after having served, or rather administered, that State, as Pensioner of Holland, for about eighteen years, with great honor to his country and himself.

Restoration of the House of Orange in the person of William of Orange

After the death of these brothers, the provinces and towns ran with unanimous voices into public demands of the Prince's being restored to the authority of his ancestors. The Estates General had, in the beginning of the year, declared him captain general and admiral of their forces, which was no more than De Witt had always professed was designed for him when he should be of age ; but this was found neither to have satisfied England nor the Prince's party at home ; and therefore all the members of the State agreed in those acts that were thought necessary to a full restitution of his highness, now at the age of twenty-one years, to the office and power of Stadtholder, with all advantages, and even some more than those which had been exercised by his ancestors.

Section 6. Louis XIV's Plan of encroaching by "Reunions" upon the Holy Roman Empire

Sir William Temple gives us a good idea of the lack of unity in the Holy Roman Empire of his day. It was threatened on the east by the Turks and on the west by the encroachments of Louis XIV, and yet each German prince went his own way according to his own particular interests. The Emperor himself, the elector of Saxony, and a few others perhaps believed it to be their duty to defend the Empire, but it was always easy for the French king to win over most of the rulers on the Rhine.

11. Temple describes the conflicting interests of the chief German princes

[The Emperor himself is firm in his stand against the French king] because he has nothing to fear so much as the power and ambition of France in regard of their common pretensions to Spain, after the young king's death, and a jealousy of the Empire itself after a further course of success ; but he will be faint in any execution of such a counsel — unless spirited by the

unanimous decrees of a general diet [of the Empire] — from his own disposition, which is thought rather generous and just, than ambitious and enterprising; from the influence of the Jesuits in that court, who are observed to grow generally French, as they were Spanish in the last age; from the fear of the Turks, who are still like a cloud that hangs over his head; and from a jealousy of Sweden's joining absolutely with France, which might share a great part of the Empire between them.

The elector of Saxony would fall entirely into the interests of the Emperor in this point, for, as a prince that is a true German, he loves the liberty of the Empire, foresees that if it should fall into the French hands all the princes would grow little companions to what they now are, or return to be the several officers of the Emperor's court, as they were in the unlimited greatness of some ancient emperors. Besides, his distance from France, though it does not instruct him to think wiser than other princes, yet it helps him to speak boldlier what he thinks upon these conjunctures.

The elector of Brandenburgh and landgrave of Hesse, and, at least, two of the dukes of Lunenburgh, are, in their dispositions and judgments, upon the same interests. . . .

The electors of Mentz and Triers have the same inclinations; but, lying at the mercy of France, in so near and so imperious a neighborhood, they will take no measures wherein they may not see their own safety provided for, as well as that of the Empire; wherein no prince has greater reputation of prudence and caution than the bishop of Mentz.

The elector Palatine, either upon remainders of the ancient leagues with France, or quarrels with the House of Austria, has been thought inclined to the French; but as a wise prince will be found generally in the true interests of the Empire, as far as the seat of his country will give him leave, which in a war will be so much exposed.

The elector of Bavaria has been esteemed wholly in the French interests since the Treaty of Munster; but, by what ties or motives, has not fallen under my observation. . . .

The elector of Cologne is a person of much natural goodness and candor, but of age and infirmities, and whom devotion

and chemistry have shared between them, and, in a manner, removed from the affairs of his state — which have been long and entirely devolved upon the bishop of Strassburgh, a man busy, and always in motion or intrigue. Nevertheless, whether upon future ambition or present advantages, he is esteemed to be perfectly in the French interests; so that whatever use can be made by France of that elector's name or country, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the devotion of that crown.

The duke of Nieuburgh is, in his person and mien, rather like an Italian than a German; and should be so in his disposition, by playing the game of an Italian prince; in declaring no partialities, provoking no enemies, and living more retired than the other princes of his country: having never showed any ambition but for the crown of Poland, which design helped to inspire him with great compliance towards all his neighbors, and other princes, who were able to do him good or ill offices in that point. But the failing of it was thought to have something disobliged him from France (upon whose assistance he reckoned) and has sunk him in a debt from which he will hardly recover.

The bishop of Munster is made only considerable by his situation, which lies, the fittest of all others, to invade Holland; and by his own dispositions, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raise a name in the world. Then an old implacable hatred to the Dutch, due to their intelligence with his chief town of Munster; their usurpation (as he pretends) of Borkloe, and some other small places in his country; their protection of the countess of Benthem; and the hopes of sharing Overyssel or Friesland, if ever their spoils come to be divided, — these serve to make him a certain friend to what prince soever is enemy to them, and will furnish him with men or money enough to appear in the head of an army against them. . . .

The activity of Louis XIV's courts in the matter of "reunions" is shown by the list of annexations to France after the Treaty of Nimwegen.

PROVINCE OF LUXEMBURG

12. A list of the "Reunions" made by the Most Christian King in the Provinces of His Catholic Majesty in the Low Countries

France possessed itself of the capital of that name, and five and thirty villages and hamlets, named provostships.

As also the provostship of Luxemburg, consisting of three benches of justice, viz. Kundrigh, or Clemency, Putlange, and Pettingen.

Of the three land mayoralties, which are Bettemburg, Santweiles, and Reckien; and of three mayoralties, Steinsel, Lingtgen, Schiteringen, consisting together of seventy-one villages and hamlets.

Of the castle of Bourge and the seigniory of Rhadenmacheren with twenty villages and their dependencies.

Of the castle and seigniory of Kesperange with four villages.

Of Ravil and its dependencies, consisting of seventeen villages.

Of the castle and county of Russy, which contain eleven villages.

Of the castle and bench of justice of Putlange, consisting of fifteen villages.

Of the castle of the seigniory of Preisch, containing two villages.

Of the castle of Aigmont with its two boroughs of Givet and hamlets depending thereon.

Of the seigniory of Vilreux Walrand.

Of the territories and seigniories of the county of Rocheford with four villages.

Of the castle and provostship of Orchimont, containing Vienne, and twenty other villages and ten seigniories within the limits thereof.

Of the seigniories of Chasse Pierre, Riviere, Fontenoylle, Sancta Cecilia, Lescheles, Maniles, Lugnon le Bortisse, Ban d'Orio, Marpan, Dochamps, Herbumont, le Bande Batailles, Ban de Masson.

Of the county of Montaign with thirteen villages and hamlets.

Of Chefflu and the provostship of St. Mard with sixteen villages.

Of the castle and seigniory of Latheur, Montquinting, la Vaux, Gommery, Bassail, Rouette, and Villers la Loup.

Of the town and county of Chiny with twenty-seven villages, hamlets, and forges.

Of the barony of Jamaigne with five villages and hamlets.

Of the seigniory of Neuchateau, consisting of six and forty villages and hamlets.

Of the borough, franchise, and mayoralty of Rennich with twenty-four villages and hamlets.

Of the bench of justice of Mackeren le Comte, comprehending the town and thirty-four villages and hamlets.

Of the seigniory of Wasser Billish.

Of the provostship of Echternach, containing the town and thirty-three villages and hamlets distinguished by four mayoralties, viz. Osweiller, Izzel, Crenhen, and Bollendorf.

Of the town and provostship of Biedburg, consisting of the franchise of Dudeldorf and thirty-four villages.

Of the town and provostship of Dickrick, which comprehends a town and six and twenty villages and hamlets.

Of the town and provostship of Arlon, consisting of the town and a hundred and twenty-nine villages and hamlets, making up fifteen bans or mayoralties without comprehending the forges and furnaces.

Of the seigniory of Pont des Oyes, which contains two villages, hamlets and forges.

Of the mayor town and provostship of Bastoigne, containing the town and an hundred and forty-five villages and hamlets consisting of ten mayoralties.

Of the town, mayoralty, and provostship of Marche, comprehending the town and nineteen villages and hamlets.

Of the towns and provostship of Durbug, which consists of the town and seventy-six villages and hamlets divided into four courts and nineteen seigniories.

Of the town of La Roche, containing the castle, town, and one and fifty villages and hamlets divided into four mayoralties.[1] . . .

[1] The complete list of the "reunions" would fill ten pages more.

The leading men of Strassburg thus described to the Emperor the way in which Louis XIV's representative, Montclair, rudely demanded the immediate surrender of their city.

13. The French king demands the surrender of Strassburg (September 28, 1681)

. . . Mr. de Montclair informed us on the evening of the 28th, that he desired us to send to him one of our deputies to learn the intentions of His Most Christian Majesty, which are that the Sovereign Chamber of Reunion at Brisach having adjudged to the King his master the sovereignty of all Alsace, of which our city is a member, he wished in virtue of the said decree that we would recognize his said Majesty as our sovereign lord, receive a garrison, and thus merit his protection, — that the King had contemplated this step all the more seriously since he was well informed that your Imperial Majesty had sought for some time every means to secure the entry of a garrison into the city. . . .

M. the baron de Montclair gave us to understand at the same time, that if we should accede to his demands graciously and quickly, we could depend upon the preservation of our rights and privileges; but that if we should obstinately refuse, or commit the slightest act of hostility, the king had at present enough troops, artillery, and other necessary things to force us to our duty; and that as the Marquis de Louvois was to arrive to-day, he desired us to take favorable resolutions promptly in order that he might be able to inform him of them on his arrival, which was to be followed by that of the most Christian King within six days.

As we feel ourselves too weak to hold out against so great and dreadful a power as that of His Most Christian Majesty, and moreover as we do not see how we can be aided by any relief or counsel that would enable us to resist it, we have no other resource but to place ourselves in the hands of God and accept the conditions which His Most Christian Majesty shall see fit to prescribe for us.

STRASSBURG
September 29, 1681

Section 7. The English Revolution of 1688 and the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697)

The Declaration of His Highness, WILLIAM HENRY, *by the Grace of God, Prince of* Orange, etc., *of the Reasons inducing him to appear in Arms in the Kingdom of* ENGLAND, *for preserving of the* Protestant Religion, *and for Restoring of the* Laws *and* Liberties of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland

14. William of Orange states his reasons for invading England

I. It is both certain and evident to all Men, That the Publick Peace and happiness of any State or Kingdom cannot be preserved where the Laws, Liberties, and Customs Established by the Lawful Authority in it are openly transgressed and annulled: More especially where the Alteration of *Religion* is endeavoured, and that a Religion, which is contrary to Law, is endeavoured to be introduced: Upon which those who are most immediately concerned in it are indispensably bound to endeavour to maintain and preserve the Established Laws, Liberties, and Customs, and above all the *Religion* and Worship of God, that is established among them; and to take such an Effectual Care that the Inhabitants of the said State or Kingdom may neither be deprived of their *Religion* nor of their Civil Rights; which is so much the more necessary, because the Greatness and Security both of Kings, Royal Families, and of all such as are in Authority, as well as the Happiness of their Subjects and People, depend, in a most especial manner, upon the exact Observation and Maintenance of these their Laws, Liberties, and Customs.

Religion, laws, and liberties subverted

II. Upon these Grounds it is that we can't any longer forbear to declare, That, to our great Regret, we see that those Counsellors, who have now the chief Credit with the King, have overturned the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of these Realms, and subjected them, in all things relating to their Consciences, Liberties, and Properties, to Arbitrary Government, and that not only by secret and indirect Ways, but in an open and undisguised Manner. . . .

XII. They have also, by putting the Administration of Civil Justice in the hands of Papists, brought all the Matters of Civil Justice into great Uncertainties; with how much Exactness and Justice soever these Sentences may have been given. For since the Laws of the Land do not only exclude Papists from all Places of Judicature, but have put them under an Incapacity, none are bound to acknowledge or to obey their Judgments; and all Sentences given by them are null and void of themselves: So that all Persons who have been cast in Trials before such Popish Judges, may justly look on their pretended Sentences as having no more Force than the Sentences of any private and unauthorized Person whatsoever. . . . Catholics made judges

[The king's evil counsellors] have not only armed the Papists, but have likewise raised them up to the greatest Military Trust, both by Sea and Land, and that Strangers as well as Natives, and Irish as well as English, that so by those Means, having rendered themselves Masters both of the Affairs of the Church, of the Government of the Nation, and of the Courts of Justice, and subjected them all to a Despotick and Arbitrary Power, they might be in a capacity to maintain and execute their wicked Designs, by the Assistance of the Army, and thereby to enslave the Nation.

XIII. The Dismal Effects of this Subversion of the Established Religion, Laws, and Liberties in *England* appear more evidently to us, by what we see done in *Ireland;* where the whole Government is put in the Hands of Papists, and where all the Protestant Inhabitants are under the daily Fears of what may be justly apprehended from the Arbitrary Power which is set up there; which has made great numbers of them leave that Kingdom, and abandon their Estates in it, remembering well that cruel and bloody Massacre which fell out in that Island in the Year 1641. Catholics supreme in Ireland

XIV. Those Evil Counsellors have also prevailed with the King to declare in *Scotland*, That he is cloathed with *Absolute Power*, and that all the Subjects are bound *to Obey him without Reserve:* Upon which he assumed an Arbitrary Power both over the Religion and Laws of the Kingdom; from all of which it 's apparent what is to be looked for in *England* as soon as Matters are duly prepared for it. James II sets up arbitrary government in Scotland

XV. Those great and insufferable Oppressions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the Apprehensions of the sad Consequences that must certainly follow upon it, have put the Subjects under great and just Fears; and have made them look after such Lawful Remedies as are allow'd of in all Nations; yet all has been without effect. . . .

The interest of William and Mary in the English succession

XX. And since Our dearest and most entirely Beloved Consort the Princess, and likewise We Ourselves, have so great an Interest in this Matter, and such a Right as all the World knows to the Succession of the Crown: Since all the *English* did, in the Year 1672, when the States General of the *United Provinces* were invaded with a most unjust War, use their utmost Endeavours to put an end to that War, and that in Opposition to those who were then in the Government; and by their so doing, they run the hazard of losing both the Favour of the Court and their Employments: And since the *English* Nation has ever testified a most particular Affection and Esteem, both to our dearest Consort the Princess, and to Ourselves, We cannot excuse ourselves from espousing their Interest in a Matter of such High Consequence: And for contributing all that lies in us for the maintaining both of the *Protestant Religion*, and of the Laws and Liberties of those Kingdoms, and for the Securing to them the continual Enjoyment of all their just Rights. To the doings of which, We are most earnestly solicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen, and other Subjects of all Ranks.

Conquest not intended

XXI. Therefore it is, That We have thought fit to go over to *England*, and to carry over with us a Force sufficient, by the Blessing of God, to defend us from the Violence of those evil Counsellors. And We, being desirous that our Intention in this might be rightly understood, have for this end prepared this Declaration, in which, as we have hitherto given a true Account of the Reasons inducing us to it, so we now think fit to declare, That this our Expedition is intended for no other Design, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament Assembled, as soon as possible, and that the members shall meet and sit in full freedom. . . .

XXV. We do in the last place invite and require all persons whatsoever, all the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, all Lords-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all Ranks, to come and assist Us, in order to the Executing of this our Design against all such as shall endeavour to oppose us; that so we may prevent all those Miseries, which must needs follow upon the Nations being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery: And that all the Violence and Disorders which have overturned the whole Constitution of the English Government may be fully redressed in a *Free and Legal Parliament.* . . .

A free Parliament promised

XXVI. And we will endeavour, by all Possible means, to procure such an Establishment in all the Three Kingdoms that they may all live in a happy Union and Correspondence together; and that the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of those NATIONS may be Established upon Lasting Foundations.

Given under Our Hand and Seal at Our Court in the Hague, *the 10th Day of* October, *in the Year of Our Lord* 1688

WILLIAM HENRY, *Prince of* Orange
By His Highness's Special Command

15. Saint-Simon's angry account of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes

Opinions in regard to the expediency of the revocation of the edict naturally differed. Madame de Sévigné, the gentlest of women and most devout of Catholics, wrote: "You have doubtless seen the edict by which the king revokes that of Nantes. Nothing could be finer than all its provisions. No king has done or ever will do anything more honorable." Saint-Simon, on the other hand, gives a somewhat lurid account of the criminal stupidity and the fearful results of the revocation.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, without the slightest pretext or necessity, and the various proscriptions that followed it, were the fruits of a frightful plot, in which the new spouse

was one of the chief conspirators, and which depopulated a quarter of the realm; ruined its commerce; weakened it in every direction; gave it up for a long time to the public and avowed pillage of the dragoons; authorized torments and punishments by which many innocent people of both sexes were killed by thousands; ruined a numerous class; tore in pieces a world of families; armed relatives against relatives, so as to seize their property and leave them to die of hunger; banished our manufactures to foreign lands; made those lands flourish and overflow at the expense of France, and enabled them to build new cities; gave to the world the spectacle of a prodigious population proscribed without crime, stripped, fugitive, wandering, and seeking shelter far from their country; sent to the galleys nobles, rich old men, people much esteemed for their piety, learning, and virtue, people carefully nurtured, weak, and delicate, — and all solely on account of religion; in fact, to heap up the measure of horror, filled the realm with perjury and sacrilege, in the midst of the echoed cries of these unfortunate victims of error, while so many others sacrificed their conscience to their wealth and their repose, and purchased both by stimulated abjuration, from which without pause they were dragged to adore what they did not believe in, and to receive the divine body of the Most Holy whilst remaining persuaded that they were only eating bread which they ought to abhor!

Such was the general abomination born of flattery and cruelty. From torture to abjuration, and from that to communion, there was often only a space of twenty-four hours; and executioners were the guides of the converts and their witnesses. . . . The king received from all sides detailed news of these conversions. It was by thousands that those who had abjured and taken the communion were counted; ten thousand in one place, six thousand in another, — all at once and instantly. The king congratulated himself on his power and his piety. He believed himself to have brought back the days of the apostles and attributed to himself all the honor. The bishops wrote panegyrics of him; the Jesuits made the pulpit resound with his praise. All France was filled with

horror and confusion; and yet there was never such triumph and joy, such boundless laudation of the king.

It is difficult to form an adequate degree of the atrocity of the French commanders in burning the towns on the Rhine in 1689. Their excuse was that after their retreat these towns would be occupied by their German enemies. A citizen of Speyer has given us an account of the burning of that city. This may be briefly condensed as follows:

16. The burning of Speyer by the French (June, 1689)

As I was returning to Speyer from Kirrweiler on the twenty-third of May of this year (1689) at about five o'clock in the afternoon, I guessed from the conduct and disturbed faces of the citizens that some terrible news had arrived. Two or three of the burgomasters and the town scribe, Wegelaz, came to me to say that about an hour before, the French intendant of war, M. la Fond, had arrived and summoned the chief magistrates and fifteen leading citizens to listen to certain royal commands. To those that assembled he read the following:

The French order Speyer to be evacuated

"The interests of his royal Majesty, owing to existing conditions, demand that this town be entirely evacuated within six days. Not only must all wines, provisions, furniture, and other effects be removed, but everybody, whether laymen or clergy, must leave and take refuge somewhere on this side the Rhine or in Philippsburg. These orders are not the result of his royal Majesty's fear of his enemies, nor has he any grudge against the town, but is well satisfied with its conduct hitherto. Accordingly you need not conclude that the town is to be burned. It is necessary, nevertheless, in order to deprive his enemies of all means of subsistence, to have the town evacuated. You must accordingly transmit this royal command to all the citizens and clergy and order its execution, for everything that remains in the town after the expiration of the term set, shall fall to the king and his soldiers."

All remonstrances and pleading were vain, the city scribe translated the order into German, and the citizens could find their only consolation in the promise that the town should not

be burned. They pleaded for more time, but were told that it was useless to apply to the king or Marshal Duras, that they must set to work to remove their goods by means of the hundred carts which they had, and that they could store the goods, which could not be removed within the time fixed, in the cathedral, where everything would be safe.

When the clergy, the Jesuits and members of the four mendicant orders, appealed to the French officers, they were received with words of sympathy and compassion, but no hope was given. The boys and girls, dressed in white, marched in procession to the intendant and general and besought him vainly for mercy on the town. The officers declared that their orders came from the court at Versailles and that they could not make any concessions.

The town set on fire

In the meantime there was much talk of further delay, when on the morning of the twenty-seventh, between ten and eleven o'clock, General Montclair announced that he had received orders to set fire to the town, churches, and cloisters, with the single exception of the cathedral. On May 31, at six in the afternoon, the destruction began as it did at Worms. The fire was started by the Weidenberg and spread gradually — for it was a still evening — through the fish market. There was an old man in the upper story of the bell ringer's house who was miserably burned to death, whether he could not or would not make his escape.

On June 1 the fire caught the houses in the market place and progressed towards the church of St. James and the Horse Market. About ten o'clock a fearful thunderstorm and wind arose which spread the fire with terrible rapidity, so that in an instant it was raging in the Herdgasse, and reached the White Tower. Between eleven and twelve it enveloped the Wolzhausen and the whole neighborhood, for the wind scattered a shower of sparks everywhere, and so it came about that the bell tower of the cathedral was set on fire. This was extinguished no less than three times, but the cloisters were ignited by incendiaries and the near-by buildings caught.

Burning of the cathedral

A little flame was then discovered in the tower over the choir. Every effort was made to put it out, but the strong

wind, dry wood, and the danger from the stream of molten lead from the burning roof combined to permit the fire to get the upper hand. When I saw that the cathedral was in the utmost danger I tried to save the miracle-working figure of the Virgin, but the shower of lead and the thick smoke prevented. Seeing that nothing could be done, I mounted my horse and rode into the suburb of the Carmelites. Here I appealed to the general who had received me with so much sympathy before, to place guards at the doors of the cathedral to prevent plundering.

On June 3 I sent my servants to inspect the cathedral. They found the miracle-working Virgin quite uninjured and brought it thither. We placed it in the church here. It is remarkable that even the artificial flowers which adorned it were not harmed, although one of the doors of the shrine, which I had carefully shut upon my last visit, was burnt for several inches.

On the fifth, I learned that an order had arrived to mine and blow up the towers of the cathedral as well as the buildings attached. I went immediately to Marshal Duras at Odenheim to get the order countermanded, and succeeded finally. I wished then to see with my own eyes the ruin of the noble building, and found it, alas, in a worse state than had been reported to me. The vaulting of the nave had wholly collapsed, the building full of rubbish; and chairs, altars, and everything that had been stored there was reduced to ashes. The sacristy and other portions that had escaped the fire had been plundered. The deacon vom Weideberg had gone into the sacristy as soon as he durst, to see if the body of Saint Guido was still there. He found the receptacle broken open and the holy head of the saint stolen on account of its silver crown. The rest of the saint's body he brought to a place of safety. In the choir, moreover, several of the emperors' tombs had been opened; the epitaphs, inscriptions, and everything that looked like metal had been taken and a number of the statues themselves mutilated.

Von Rollingen
Kirrweiler, June 15, 1689

In 1689 the new king of England, William III, issued the following declaration of war against France, describing with considerable fullness the English grievances against Louis XIV.

17. The motives of the English in the War of the League of Augsburg

It having pleased God to make Us the happy Instrument of Rescuing these Nations from great and imminent Dangers, and to place Us upon the Throne of these Kingdoms, we think ourselves obliged to endeavour to the uttermost to promote the Welfare of our People, which can never be effectually secured, but by preventing the Miseries that threaten them from abroad.

When we consider the many unjust Methods the *French* King hath of late years taken to gratify his Ambition, that he has not only invaded the Territories of the Emperor, and of the Empire, now in Amity with us, laying waste whole Countries and destroying the Inhabitants by his Armies, but declared War against our Allies without any Provocation, in manifest Violation of the Treaties confirmed by the Guaranty of the Crown of *England*, we can do no less than joyn with our Allies in opposing the Designs of the *French* King, as the Disturber of the Peace, and the common Enemy of the Christian World.

And besides the Obligations we lie under by Treaties with our Allies (which are a sufficient Justification of Us for taking up Arms at this time, since they have called upon us so to do), the many Injuries done to Us and to our Subjects, without any Reparation, by the *French* King, are such, that (however of late years they were not taken notice of, for Reasons well known to the World) nevertheless we will not pass them over without a publick and just Resentment of such Outrages.

It is not long since the *French* took Licenses from the *English* Government of *Newfound-land*, to Fish in the Seas upon that Coast, and pay a Tribute for such Licenses, as an Acknowledgment of the sole Right of the Crown of *England* to that Island; and yet of late, the Encroachments of the *French* upon our said Island, and our Subjects' Trade and Fishery, have been more like the Invasions of an Enemy than becoming Friends, who enjoy'd the Advantages of that Trade only by Permission.

But that the *French* King should invade our *Charibbee* Islands, and possess himself of our Territories of the Province of *New York* and of *Hudson's Bay*, in a hostile manner, seizing our Forts, burning our Subjects' Houses, and enriching his People with the Spoil of their Goods and Merchandizes, detaining some of our Subjects under the Hardship of Imprisonment, causing others to be inhumanely kill'd, and driving the rest to Sea in a small Vessel, without Food or Necessaries to support them, are Actions not becoming even an Enemy ; and yet he was so far from declaring himself so, that at that very time he was negotiating here in *England* by his Ministers a Treaty of Neutrality and good Correspondence in *America*.

French conduct in North America

The proceedings of the *French* King against our Subjects in *Europe* are so notorious that we shall not need to enlarge upon them ; his countenancing the Seizure of *English* Ships by *French* Privateers, forbidding the Importation of a great part of the Product and Manufactures of our Kingdom, and imposing exorbitant Customs upon the rest, notwithstanding the vast Advantages he and the *French* Nation reap by their Commerce with *England*, are sufficient Evidences of his Designs to destroy the Trade, and consequently to ruine the Navigation, upon which the Wealth and Safety of this Nation very much depends. . . .

The commercial rivalry

But that which most nearly touches us, is his unchristian prosecution of many of our *English* Protestant Subjects in France, for Matters of Religion, contrary to the Law of Nations, and express Treaties, forcing them to abjure their Religion by strange and unusual Cruelties, and imprisoning some of the Masters and Seamen of our Merchant Ships, and condemning others to the Gallies, upon pretence of having on Board either some of his own miserable Protestant Subjects or their Effects. And lastly, As he has for some years last past endeavoured by Insinuations and Promises of Assistance to overthrow the Government of *England;* so now by open and violent Methods, and the actual Invasion of our Kingdom in *Ireland*, in support of our Subjects in Arms and in Rebellion against Us, he is promoting the utter Extirpation of our good and loyal Subjects in that our Kingdom.

Louis XIV persecutes English Protestants

Being therefore thus necessitated to take up Arms, and relying on the help of Almighty God in our just Undertaking, We thought fit to Declare, and do hereby Declare War against the *French* King, and that we will, in Conjunction with our Allies, vigorously prosecute the same by Sea and Land (since he hath so unrighteously begun it), being assured of the hearty Concurrence and Assistance of our Subjects in support of so good a cause.

Given at our court at Hampton-Court *the seventh day of May*, 1689, *in the first year of our Reign*

God save King William *and Queen* Mary

CHAPTER III

RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE AT UTRECHT

Section 8. The Question of the Spanish Succession

The attitude of the English business class toward the question of the Spanish Succession is well illustrated by a pamphlet (published in London in 1701) by a commissioner of trade and plantations, George Stepney, from which the extracts which follow are taken.

18. An Englishman's view of the danger to England from France's control of Spain (1701)

That we are in the greatest danger of losing our trade, our liberty, and our religion will hardly be denied by any man who will seriously reflect on the consequences likely to attend the perfect union of France and Spain, — unless he can suppose the French king's ambition satiated with this great success, and that, as his power to do mischief shall increase, his ill will to us and his hatred to our religion shall be lessened. . . .

That it is the interest and desire of the French to destroy both the Dutch and us will easily be allowed, since 't is we who for a long time have checked their pride and disappointed their ambitious designs. Our maritime power is terrible to her, nor will she readily forget the affront received at The Hague; besides that king's affection to be the champion of popery, and his usage of our Protestant brethren in his dominions, tell us sufficiently what we are to expect from him.

The same superstitious principle will not fail to make the Spaniards concur cheerfully with any measures that he shall propose to ruin our trade, which, being the great source of our wealth, is consequently the greatest support to the Protestant religion, so much abhorred by them. And what opportunities they have of doing it is but too obvious to any man that knows what a vast coast they possess in both worlds; to say

nothing of the Straits-mouth, which, with the help of a fleet, they command absolutely.

English cloth manufacture threatened

Nor is there anything to hinder the French from monopolizing the wool of Spain, which would at once destroy our fine drapery, which perhaps is the only considerable manufacture in which we have no dangerous rival. . . .

Can we doubt that whenever the French shall desire it, the Spaniards will clog our trade to Spain with such exorbitant duties, and give us such other trouble and vexations, that we shall be obliged to quit that gainful commerce, which will be engrossed by France, where all the money that comes from America will then center, in return for the linen and woolen manufactures it will be able to supply their Indies and Spain withal.

Danger that the French will enjoy all the privileges of Spaniards

What if, besides these advantages, all the French subjects shall be naturalized Spaniards and, as such, have liberty to trade freely from France to the West Indies? Is it not evident that this single privilege will enable them to undersell us, though we should be allowed to trade on our old footing to Cadiz, and that consequently 't will carry all the treasure of the New World to France? Or can we promise ourselves the continuance of that most beneficial trade carried on of late years by connivance from Jamaica,[1] directly to the continent of their America? Can we, I say, promise ourselves any indulgences of that kind from the Frenchified Spaniards who will be governors in all their ports?

Peace more hazardous than war

I might dwell much longer on this subject, but after what had been hinted, I appeal to any reasonable man, whether 't will not be in the power of the French king to impoverish us more by a ten years' peace, as things now stand, than 't is probable a war of the same continuance would do.

When this mischief is felt, 't will be in vain for us to repent our mistaken measures, in having preferred an ignominious and destructive peace to a war which might have been made with advantage, safety, and glory. And if we shall then attempt a war against an enemy whose wealth will be increased in the same or a greater proportion than both ours and the Dutch

[1] For the nature of the English trade and smuggling, see below, pp. 73 *sqq.*

will be lessened, 't will be too late, since we shall be destitute of those allies we first deserted, and shall have suffered such a diminution of our power at home that 't will then be madness to provoke an enemy so much above our strength. But there is no fear of our being guilty of such rashness; we shall have then learned humbler thoughts, and think ourselves happy if that invincible monarch will allow us peacefully to enjoy the product of our own island. But even that will in all probability be denied us, and the continuance of that inglorious peace, which many are now so fond of, must be purchased at the expense of our religion and liberty.

Danger that Louis will aid the Stuarts to regain their English throne

The abdicated Prince will be imposed upon us, and if we are stubborn, we shall be used as traitors to God and our lawful king. That the French king will attempt to reëstablish that family will easily be agreed to, if we consider that nothing can be imagined so agreeable to his interest, his resentment, his ambition, and his blind zeal for popery. To his interest, by humbling a free and powerful state, the liberty and flourishing condition of which must be great eyesores to a tyrant who would have all people as miserable as his own subjects, that they may more easily endure their slavery; to his resentment and interest, by revenging himself upon those who have proved the main obstacle to his long-courted universal monarchy; and who, till they shall be humbled, will continue to do so. His ambition, 't is well known, was never, since his reign, so foiled as by his forced compliance to own our present king, after a ten years' war to support King James, whose interest he had so often publicly declared he would never abandon. And 't is now the common discourse in France, that nothing is wanting to complete the glory of Louis the Great, and to cause his name to sound above Charlemagne's, but the reëstablishment of the king of England.

When therefore we add that instigations will not be wanting from Rome to prosecute so pious and religious a work as the reduction of England to the Catholic faith; when, I say, we consider all these matters seriously, we must be very skeptics if we can doubt that such a design will be set on foot as soon as there shall be a prospect of its being carried on successfully. . . .

Section 9. Will of Charles II, and War of the Spanish Succession

The opening paragraph of the will of Charles II (dated October 2, 1700) and the chief clauses relating to the succession to the Spanish possessions are given below.

19. Will of Charles II of Spain (1700)

In the name of the most Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three distinct persons, but one only and true God; and in the name of the Holy Virgin Mary, Mother of the Eternal Word, our Protectress; and in the name of all the Saints of the Celestial Court.

I, Don Carlos, by the Grace of God King of Castile, Leon, and Aragon, of the two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsegua, Murcia, Jaén, Algarve, Algeciras, Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, East and West Indies, of the Islands and Terra Firma of the Ocean, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Milan, Athens, etc., Count of Hapsburg, Flanders, Tyrol, and Barcelona, Lord of Biscay and Molina; knowing that as a mortal man I cannot avoid death, a punishment which we have all of us incurred by the sin of our first parent; and being sick abed of a long distemper, with which it hath pleased God to afflict me, I declare my last will by this present testament; which, by an effect of the Divine Bounty, I make with an understanding as sound and as free as ever I had in my life.[1] . . .

[1] The correspondence of the English ambassador, Alexander Stanhope, who was in Spain during the last years of Charles II, gives some hints of that unhappy monarch's condition.

Madrid, September 16, 1696. His Catholic Majesty has been extremely ill these seven days, which has stopped all couriers and expresses; but, thanks be to God, is now much better by taking of quinine, yet not so safe as his good subjects wish him.

Madrid, September 19, 1696. The King's danger is over for this time, but his constitution is so very weak, and broken much beyond his age, that it is generally feared what may be the success of such another attack. They cut his hair off in this sickness, which the decay of nature had almost done before, all his crown being bald. He has a ravenous stomach, and swallows all he eats whole, for his nether jaw stands so

If God out of his infinite mercy give me lawful issue, I declare as universal heir of all my kingdoms, dominions, and seigniories, my eldest son, and other sons, according to the order of their birth, and failing male issue, my daughters, according to the laws of our kingdoms. But since God hath not as yet granted me that favor, at the time I make this will; and since my chief obligation is to take care of the welfare of my subjects, so ordering it that all my kingdoms may continue united, and maintain that loyalty which they owe to their natural king and lord, as they have always been accustomed to do, and which, indeed, makes me to believe that they will willingly acquiesce in what is most just, when they see the same authorized and fortified by my sovereign will:

Charles II leaves the Spanish realms to the Duke of Anjou

Having then understood by several conferences which I have had with my ministers of State and Justice, that the reason which led the Infantas Anna and Maria Theresa, queens of France, my aunt and sister, to renounce their claims to the succession to these kingdoms, was to avoid the inconvenience of their being united to the crown of France; and that that fundamental motive having disappeared, the right of succession still continued to subsist in the person of him that is next a kin, according to the laws of those kingdoms, who, it happens at present, is the second son of the Dauphin of France, in case I die without issue; and accommodating myself to the said laws, I declare the Duke of Anjou my successor, and as such

much out, that his two rows of teeth cannot meet; to compensate which, he has a prodigious wide throat, so that a gizzard or liver of a hen passes down whole. . . . This king's life being of such importance in this conjecture as to all the affairs of Europe, I thought might excuse these particulars, which otherwise would seem impertinent.

Madrid, March 14, 1698. The King is so very weak, he can scarcely lift his hand to his head to feed himself; and so extremely melancholy that neither his buffoons, dwarfs, nor puppet shows — all which have showed their abilities before him — can in the least divert him from fancying everything that is said or done to be a temptation of the devil, and never thinking himself safe but with his confessor and two friars by his side, whom he makes lie in his chamber every night.

Spain under Charles the Second, Extracts from the Correspondence of the Honorable Alexander Stanhope (edited by Lord Mahon). London, 1844.

I call him to the succession of all my kingdoms, without any exception; and command all my subjects and vassals that, in case God call me without lawful succession, they should own and acknowledge him as their king and natural lord, and that they give him without delay the actual possession of the said kingdoms, after his taking the oath that he ought to take, to observe their laws, privileges, and customs.

Provision for preventing the union of Spain and France

And as it is my intention, — since this much imports the repose of Christendom and Europe, and the peace of my said kingdoms, — that this monarchy should always be separate from the crown of France, I accordingly declare, that if the Duke of Anjou happen to die, or fall heir to that crown, and prefer it to this of Spain, the succession of Spain shall go to the Duke of Berry, his brother, the Dauphin's third son, in that same manner: and in case that duke also die, or happen to succeed to the crown of France, in that case I call to the succession of Spain the Archduke, second son of the Emperor, my uncle, excluding for that same reason of the peace of Europe, and of my subjects, the Emperor's eldest son; and if the said Archduke happen also to die, in that case I call to the succession the Duke of Savoy, and his children. And it is my will that this be executed by all my vassals, as I order them, so that a monarchy founded by my fathers with so much glory shall not be dismembered or diminished in any manner.

On November 1, 1700, the Spanish ministers conveyed the news to Louis XIV that "This day, about three of the clock in the afternoon, God called (no doubt to partake of his glory) the soul of King Don Carlos II our lord." Upon opening the king's will they had discovered that the duke of Anjou was appointed his heir, and so felt it their duty to give the king of France first notice of its contents. Louis replied to the Spanish council of ministers in the following letter.

Most High, most Mighty, and most Excellent Princess, our much beloved good Sister and Cousin, most Dear and

Well-beloved Cousins and Chief Counselors, established for the universal governments of the States depending on the crown of Spain. We have received the letter signed by Your Majesty and yourselves written the first of this month, delivered to us by the Marquis De Castel dos Rios, ambassador of the most High and Mighty, and most Excellent Prince, our most dear and most beloved good Brother and Cousin, Charles the Second, king of Spain, of glorious memory; and the same ambassador remitted to us at the same time the copy of the Will made by the deceased king his master, containing the order of the heirs which he calls to the succession of his kingdoms and States, and the prudent provision he has made for the administration of the government of the kingdom till the arrival, and during the minority, of his successor.

20. Louis XIV's letter accepting the heritage of the Spanish possessions in the name of his grandson (November 12, 1700)

The sensible grief which we feel for the loss of a prince, whom his excellent qualities and the strict ties of blood rendered most dear to us, is infinitely increased by the proofs which he gave us at his death, of his justice and love for his faithful subjects, and the desire he showed to maintain, after his death, the general quiet of all Europe, and the happiness of his kingdoms. We will on our part contribute to the one and the other, answering the entire confidence he always reposed in us, conforming ourselves entirely to his intentions expressed in the articles of the Will which Your Majesty and you have sent us. All our care henceforth will be to raise, by an inviolable and most strict correspondence, the Spanish Monarchy to the highest pitch of grandeur it has ever arrived at. We accept, in favor of our Grandson, the Duke of Anjou, the Will of the deceased Catholic king; our only son the Dauphin accepts it also, quitting, without any reluctance, the just rights of the deceased queen, his Mother, and our dear spouse, as well as those of the deceased queen, our most honored lady and mother, indisputably acknowledged by the opinion of the several ministers of State and Justice, consulted by the deceased king of Spain. Far from reserving to himself any part of the monarchy, he sacrifices his own interest to the desire of reëstablishing the ancient luster of a crown, which the Will of the deceased Catholic king and the voice of his people have unanimously given to our Grandson.

Instructions given by Louis XIV to the new king of Spain

We will cause the Duke of Anjou immediately to depart, in order that he may the sooner give his subjects the satisfaction of receiving a king, since they are so well persuaded that God has called him to your throne. His first duty ought to be, to cause Virtue, Justice, and Religion to reign with him, and wholly to apply himself to the happiness of his people, to raise and maintain the grandeur of so mighty a monarchy, to choose always, and reward those whom he shall find in a nation so strong and wise, capable of serving him in his councils, in his armies, and in the different employments of the Church and State. We will instruct him farther in what he owes to his subjects so inviolably devoted to their king, and what to his own proper glory. We shall exhort him to remember his birth, to preserve the love of his country, but, above all, to maintain forever that peace and perfect good understanding so necessary to the common happiness of our subjects and his own, which has always been the principal object of our wishes: and if the misfortunes of past conjunctures have hindered us from making it appear, we are persuaded that this great event will alter the state of things in such a way, that each day will produce hereafter new occasions to show our great esteem and particular good will to the whole Spanish nation.

In the meantime, most High and Mighty, and most Excellent Princess, our dear and entirely beloved good Sister and Cousin, We pray God, the Author of all Consolation, to give Your Majesty needful Comfort in Your just Affliction. And we assure You, most Dear and Well-beloved Cousins and prime Counselors, appointed for the Regency of Spain, of the particular Regard and Affection We have for You.

FONTAINEBLEAU, November 12, 1700

The reasons for forming the grand alliance of European powers against Louis XIV in 1701 are clearly set forth in the preamble to the document.

Whereas Charles II King of Spain, of most glorious memory, being not long since dead without issue, his sacred Imperial Majesty has claimed the succession in the kingdoms and

21. Preamble to the Grand Alliance concluded by the Emperor, Great Britain, and the Dutch

provinces of the deceased king as lawfully belonging to his august family, but the Most Christian King, aiming at the same succession for his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, and pretending that a right did accrue to him by a certain Will of the deceased king, has usurped the possession of the entire inheritance or Spanish monarchy for the aforesaid Duke of Anjou and invaded by his arms the provinces of the Spanish Low Countries and the duchy of Milan, has a fleet ready fitted in the port of Cadiz, has sent several ships of war to the Spanish West Indies, and by this and many other ways the kingdoms of France and Spain are so closely united and cemented that they may seem henceforward not to be otherwise considered than as one and the same kingdom.

So that it sufficiently appears, unless timely care be taken, that his Imperial Majesty will be destitute of all hopes of ever receiving satisfaction in his pretension; the Holy Roman Empire will lose its rights in the fiefs belonging to it in Italy and the Spanish Netherlands; the free intercourse or Navigation and Commerce which the English and Dutch have in the Mediterranean, the Indies, and other places will be utterly destroyed; and the United Provinces will be deprived of the security which they enjoyed in the provinces of Spanish Netherlands lying between them and the French, which is commonly called a Barrier; lastly, that the French and Spaniards, being thus united, will within a short time become so formidable to all that they may easily assume to themselves the dominion over all Europe.

And therefore by this way of proceeding of the Most Christian King, his Imperial Majesty was brought under a necessity of sending an army for the preservation as well of his own private interests as the fiefs of the empire; the king of Great Britain has thought it requisite to send his forces to the assistance of the States General, whose affairs are in the same condition as if they were actually invaded; and the said States, whose frontiers lie in a manner exposed on all sides by the breaking and taking away of that fence commonly called a Barrier, which screened them from the neighborhood of the French, are forced to do all those things for the safety

and defense of their commonwealth which they should and could do if they were in a war. And whereas so dubious a posture of their affairs is more dangerous than a war itself, and that France and Spain take advantage of this state of their affairs to make a stronger and firmer union between themselves for oppressing the liberty of Europe and taking away freedom of commerce:

These reasons inducing his sacred Imperial Majesty, his sacred Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and the High and Mighty Lords of the States General of the United Provinces to obviate so great evils as might arise from thence, and, desiring so much as lies within their power to apply remedies thereto, have thought a strict conjunction and alliance between themselves necessary for repelling the greatness of the common danger.

The stern realities of the long and terrible War of the Spanish Succession are shown in this letter of the duke of Marlborough in which he reports to the English ministry his victory over the allied French and Bavarians at Höchstädt and Blenheim on the Danube below Ulm, August 13, 1704.

22. Letter of the duke of Marlborough describing the battle of Höchstädt-Blenheim (August 13, 1704)

Sir: I gave you an Account on Sunday last of the Situation we were then in, and that we expected to hear the Enemy would pass the Danube at Lawingen, in order to attack Prince Eugene [the Emperor's general] at eleven of the Clock that Night. We had an Express from him, that the Enemy were come, and desiring he might be reinforced as soon as possible. Whereupon I order'd my Brother Churchil to advance at one of the Clock in the morning with his two Battalions, and by three the whole Army was in motion; For the greater Expedition, I order'd part of the Troops to pass over the Danube, and follow the March of the twenty Battalions; And with most of the Horse and the Foot of the First Line, I passed the Lech at Rain, and came over the Danube at Donawert. So that we all join'd the prince that night, intending to advance and take this Camp at Hochstet: In order whereto we went out early on Tuesday with forty Squadrons to view

the Ground, but found the Enemy had already possessed themselves of it.

Whereupon we resolved to attack them, and accordingly we marched between three and four yesterday morning from the Camp at Munster, leaving all our Tents standing. About six we came in view of the Enemy, who, we found, did not expect so early an Onset. The Cannon began to play about half an Hour after eight; They formed themselves in two Bodies, the Elector with Monsieur Marsin and their Troops on our Right, and Monsieur de Tallard with all his on our Left; Which last fell to my Share; They had two Rivulets, besides a Morass before them; Which we were obliged to pass over in their View, and Prince Eugene was forced to take a great Compass to come to the Enemy: So that it was one of the Clock before the Battle began. It lasted with great Vigour till Sun-set, when the Enemy were obliged to retire, and by the Blessing of God we obtained a Compleat Victory.

Many French battalions perish in the Danube

We have cut off great Numbers of them, as well in the Action, as in the Retreat; Besides, upwards of twenty Squadrons of the French, which I push'd into the Danube, where we saw the greatest part of them perish; Monsieur Tallard, with several of his General Officers, being taken Prisoners at the same time. And in the Village of Blenheim, which the Enemy had intrenched and fortified, and where they made the greatest Opposition, I obliged twenty-six entire Battalions, and twelve Squadrons of Dragoons, to surrender themselves Prisoners at Discretion. We took likewise all their Tents standing, with their Cannon and Ammunition, as also a great number of Standards, Kettle-Drums, and Colors in the Action; So that I reckon the greatest part of Monsieur Tallard's Army is taken or destroyed.

The Bravery of all our Troops on this occasion cannot be expressed, the Generals, as well as the Officers and Soldiers, behaving themselves with the greatest Courage and Resolution. The Horse and Dragoons were obliged to charge four or five several times. The Elector and Monsieur de Marsin were so advantageously posted, that Prince Eugene could make no Impression on them, till the third Attack, near seven at night,

when he made a great Slaughter of them. But being near a Wood-side, a great Body of Bavarians retired into it, and the rest of that Army retreated towards Lawingen, it being too late, and the Troops too much tired to pursue them far.

Praise of his ally, Prince Eugene of Savoy

I cannot say too much in praise of that Prince's good Conduct, and the Bravery of his Troops on this Occasion. You will please to lay this before her Majesty and his Royal Highness, to whom I send my Lord Tunbridge with the good News. I pray you likewise inform yourself, and let me know her Majesty's Pleasure, as well relating to Monsieur Tallard and the other General Officers, as for the Disposal of near one thousand two hundred other Officers, and between eight and nine thousand Common Soldiers, who being all made Prisoners by her Majesty's Troops, are entirely at her Disposal: But as the Charge of subsisting these Officers and Men must be very great, I presume her Majesty will be inclined that they be exchanged for any other Prisoners that offer.

I should likewise be glad to receive her Majesty's Directions for the Disposal of the Standards and Colors, whereof I have not yet the Number, but guess there cannot be less than one hundred, which is more than has been taken in any Battle these many Years.

You will easily believe that, in so long and vigorous an Action, the English, who had so great a Share in it, must have suffered as well in Officers as Men; But I have not the particulars. I am

Sir,

Your most obedient,
Humble Servant,
MARLBOROUGH

From the Camp at Hochstet
August the 4th [old style dating], 1704

Section 10. Peace of Utrecht, 1713

In a message to Parliament in the year 1712 Queen Anne reported the progress that had been made toward fixing the terms of peace.

My Lords and Gentlemen:

The making Peace and War is the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown; yet such is the just Confidence I place in you,

23. Queen Anne's account of the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht

that at the Opening of this Session I acquainted you, That a Negotiation for a General Peace was begun; and afterwards, by Messages, I promised to communicate to you the Terms of Peace, before the same should be concluded.

In pursuance of that Promise, I now come to let you know upon what Terms a General Peace may be made.

I need not mention the Difficulties which arise from the very Nature of this Affair; and it is but too apparent that these Difficulties have been increased by other Obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good Work.

Nothing, however, has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first Place, the true Interest of my own Kingdoms; and I have not omitted anything which might procure to our Allies what is due to them by Treaties, and what is necessary for their Security.

Assuring of the Protestant Succession

The Assuring of the Protestant Succession, as by Law established, in the House of Hanover, to these Kingdoms, being what I have nearest at Heart, particular Care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest Terms, but to have an additional Security, by the Removal of that Person out of the Dominions of France, who has pretended to disturb this Settlement.

Danger of union between France and the Spanish dominions

The Apprehension that Spain and the West Indies might be united to France was the chief Inducement to begin this War; and the effectual Preventing of such an Union was the Principle I laid down at the Commencement of this Treaty.

Former Examples, and the Late Negotiations, sufficiently show how difficult it is to find Means to accomplish this Work. I would not content myself with such as are speculative, or depend on Treaties only; I insisted on what is solid, and to have at Hand the Power of executing what should be agreed.

I can, therefore, now tell you, That France at last is brought to offer, that the Duke of Anjou shall, for himself and his Descendants, renounce forever all Claim to the Crown of France. And that this important Article may be exposed to no Hazard, the Performance is to accompany the Promise. . . .

France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever. And thus, by the Blessing of God, will a real Balance of

Power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few Accidents as Human Affairs can be exempted from. . . .

Cessions in North America to England

Our Interest is so deeply concerned in the Trade of North America, that I have used my utmost Endeavours to adjust that Article in the most beneficial Manner. France consents to restore to us the whole Bay and Streights of Hudson; to deliver up the Island of Newfoundland, with Placentia, and to make an absolute Cession of Annapolis, with the rest of Nova Scotia or Acadia.

The Safety of our Home Trade will be better provided for by the Demolition of Dunkirk.

Gibraltar

Our Mediterranean Trade, and the British Interest and Influence in those Parts, will be secured by the Possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, with the whole Island of Minorca, which are offered to remain in my Hands.

Trading privileges

The Trade to Spain and to the West-Indies may in general be settled, as it was in the Time of the late King of Spain, Charles II, and a particular Provision be made, That all Advantages, Rights, or Privileges, which have been granted, or which may hereafter be granted, by Spain to any other Nation, shall be in like manner granted to the Subjects of Great Britain.

Slave trade

But the Part which we have born in the Prosecution of this War, intitling us to some Distinction in the Terms of Peace, I have insisted and obtained, That the Asiento,[1] or Contract for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with Negroes, shall be made with us for the Term of Thirty Years, in the same Manner as it has been enjoyed by the French for these Ten Years past.

Interests of England's allies

I have not taken upon me to determine the Interest of our Confederates; these must be adjusted in the Congress at Utrecht, where my best Endeavours shall be employed, as they have hitherto been, to procure to every one of them all just and reasonable Satisfaction. In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you, that France offers to make the Rhine the Barrier of the Empire; to yield Brisac, the Fort of Kehl and Landau; and to raze all Fortresses, both on the other side of the Rhine, and in that River. . . .

[1] See below, p. 75.

As to the Protestant Interest in Germany, there will be, on the Part of France, no Objection to the Resettling thereof on the Foot of the Treaty of Westphalia.

The Spanish Low Countries may go to His Imperial Majesty ; the Kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the Dutchy of Milan, and the Places belonging to Spain on the Coast of Tuscany, may likewise be yielded by the Treaty of Peace to the Emperor.

As to the Kingdom of Sicily, tho' there remains no Dispute concerning the Cession of it by the Duke of Anjou, yet the Disposition thereof is not yet determined.

The Interests of the States General, with respect to Commerce, are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their own Ministers, with the Exception only of some very few Species of Merchandize. . . .

Those of the king of Prussia are such as, I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of France ; and my endeavours shall not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an ally. . . .

France has consented that the Elector Palatine shall continue his present rank among the Electors, and remain in possession of the Upper Palatinate.

The Electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged in the House of Hanover, according to the articles inserted, at that prince's desire and my demands.

And as to the rest of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to secure their several interests.

The general situation in Italy in the middle of the eighteenth century is well described by an English traveler and man of letters, John Campbell (1708–1775).

24. An Englishman's impressions of Italy about 1750

There are few Countries in the World better watered than this [i.e. Italy], in respect to Springs, Rivulets, small and great Lakes, as well as large Rivers. Thus bountifully dealt with by nature, it has also, from the Ingenuity and Application of its Inhabitants, been esteemed the Mother of Arts and Commerce, in respect to the rest of Europe ; its Reputation is still so high with regard to the first, that the Tour of Italy is considered

as the necessary Conclusion of a polite Education ; and in reference to the latter, though the Trade of Italy is nothing to what it was, yet the Ports of Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, and Venice, to say nothing of those in Sicily, make still a very great Figure, and derive vast Advantages to the Sovereigns in whose Dominions they are situated. Besides all this, the several Countries of Italy have such Funds of natural Riches, and the People are so happy at improving as well as inventing Manufactures, that they stand in need only of some favourable Juncture to revive their ancient Spirit, and to make as great a Figure as their Ancestors did in comparison with other Nations.

Various Italian states

There is no kind of Government subsisting in any Part of Europe, of which something of the like Kind is not to be found in Italy. As to the Sovereignty of the Pope, it is peculiar to this Country, as it is vested in a spiritual Person, and yet it is altogether a temporal Power exercised as absolutely, and, as is generally supposed, with more Policy than in any other Monarchy. The Dominions of those two crowned Heads (for as yet there are no more) that lie within its Limits, are those of his Sardinian Majesty at one End, and of the King of the two Sicilies at the other. The Dutchy of Milan, once the largest and richest in this Part of the World, together with the Dutchy of Mantua and its Dependencies, belong to the august House of Austria. His Imperial Majesty is considered as one of the Italian Powers, not only in that Capacity by which he claims a Title, paramount to the greatest Part, if not the whole, but particularly also as Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Don Carlos

The Infant Duke of Parma is at length in Possession of a Settlement, composed not only of that Dutchy, and of Placentia, which was the Patrimony of his Ancestors by the Mother's Side, but likewise of Guastalla.

The republics of Venice and Genoa

His Serene Highness the Duke of Modena holds that Dutchy and Reggio, together also with the Dutchy of Mirandola ; and besides these, there are some other lesser Princes who would take it ill if they were not stiled Sovereigns. The Republick of Venice is an unmixed Aristocracy, still venerable for the Wisdom of its Government, as heretofore formidable by the Extent of its Dominions as well as a great naval Force. The

Republick of Genoa is an Aristocracy also, but not quite so pure as that of Venice.

The Swiss Cantons, the Grisons, their Allies, and the City of Geneva, are so many different Republicks, each having its particular Form of Government, but owing their Strength to their Confederacy, which renders them truly great and formidable. There are, besides these, two free States, the Dominions of which are surrounded by those of Sovereign Princes, to whom, notwithstanding, they owe no Obedience, or even Homage; the first of which is the Commonwealth of Lucca in the Neighbourhood of Tuscany, and the latter the Republick of St. Marino in the Midst of the Pope's Territories.

Such is the Distribution of Power in Italy; and in the supporting this Distribution, and maintaining each of these Princes and States in their respective Rights, so as to prevent their encroaching upon each other, or being overborn by a foreign Force, consists the Preservation of the Ballance in Italy, a Term very significant in Policy, and originally invented here, where it is perfectly well understood, though not always practiced; for if it were, the Powers in Italy need not the Assistance of Foreigners to keep it steady, since how small or weak soever some of them may appear when considered separately, yet the Conjunction of their Forces would be at all Times found sufficient to defend this Country from Invasions. . . .

Foreign intervention in Italy

But after all, notwithstanding that the Ballance of Power is the common Interest of all these Princes and States, notwithstanding that they know this better than Strangers possibly can do, and are as well satisfied of it as can be wished, yet so it is, that with all their Penetration and Prudence, some or other of them are continually deluded by specious Views and flattering Promises, to act against what they are convinced is their true and great Interest, which would certainly appear a Thing monstrous and absurd, if it happened nowhere but in Italy, and must on the contrary appear very natural and probable to any impartial Politician who is well acquainted with the Nature of Mankind, and who is sensible that, notwithstanding all their Circumspection and Gravity, the Inhabitants of Italy are Men like their Neighbours, Men having the same or perhaps stronger

Passions, and consequently very capable of being wrought upon when the Hopes of gratifying those Passions are placed in a full, though at the same Time in a fallacious, Light. In their Writings and in their Discourses, you see the Benefits of the Ballance perfectly explained, and the Errors of their Ancestors in calling now the French, then the Spaniards, often the Germans, into Italy, very judiciously exploded, while the same thing is practised by themselves to this very Day. Nor can the strongest Foresight Discern when this Infatuation will cease.

Predominating influence of Austria and Spain

The Truth of the Matter is, that the Influence of the two great Houses of Austria and Bourbon have in our Days chiefly contributed to keep the Scale in almost constant Motion, and whenever there has been any little Recess, it has lasted no longer than till the silent Intrigues of the Partisans of one or other of these Houses have been able to pave the Way for new Disputes. Sometimes it has been thought for the Interest of Italy to rid themselves entirely of one House by the Assistance of the other, and when this has been in a good Measure effected at the Expence of much Bloodshed and Confusion, Experience has shewn them their Mistake, in consequence of which they have entered into a new War to set Things right again. Other Nations, more at a Distance, find themselves strongly interested in the Preservation of the Ballance from a Variety of Motives, but principally from these two; first, because their trade in the Mediterranean must suffer exceedingly if the Ballance in Italy be destroyed; and secondly, this Ballance is attended to, because a Diversion on the Side of Italy proves often a Thing of the last Consequence in the Case of a general War, the very Apprehension of which keeps a very considerable Part of the Forces of each of the contending Houses from being employed where they might be of most Prejudice to those Powers, who for this Reason make the Ballance of Italy so much their Concern.

CHAPTER IV

RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA BECOME EUROPEAN POWERS

Section 11. Peter the Great plans to make Russia a European Power

Peter the Great, in his anxiety to reform Russia and make it a great power, visited the western regions himself, imported military leaders, artisans, and scientists, and did much to remodel Russian customs. One of the most satisfactory accounts of the Tsar's visit to England is given by the sagacious historian, Bishop Burnet.

25. Bishop Burnet's impressions of Peter the Great in 1698

I mentioned in the relation of the former year [1698] the Tsar's coming out of his own country; on which I will now enlarge. He came this winter over to England and stayed some months among us. I waited often on him, and was ordered both by the king and the archbishop and bishops to attend upon him and to offer him such informations of our religion and constitution as he was willing to receive. I had good interpreters, so I had much free discourse with him. He is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed and very brutal in his passion. He raises his natural heat by drinking much brandy, which he rectifies himself with great application. He is subject to convulsive motions all over his body, and his head seems to be affected with these. He wants not capacity, and has a larger measure of knowledge than might be expected from his education, which was very indifferent. A want of judgment, with an instability of temper, appear in him too often and too evidently.

The Tsar's interest in shipbuilding

He is mechanically turned, and seems designed by nature rather to be a ship carpenter than a great prince. This was his chief study and exercise while he stayed here. He wrought

much with his own hands and made all about him work at the models of ships. He told me he designed a great fleet at Azuph [i.e. Azov] and with it to attack the Turkish empire. But he did not seem capable of conducting so great a design, though his conduct in his wars since this has discovered a greater genius in him than appeared at this time.

He was desirous to understand our doctrine, but he did not seem disposed to mend matters in Moscovy. He was, indeed, resolved to encourage learning and to polish his people by sending some of them to travel in other countries and to draw strangers to come and live among them. He seemed apprehensive still [i.e. ever] of his sister's [i.e. the Princess Sophia's] intrigues. There was a mixture both of passion and severity in his temper. He is resolute, but understands little of war, and seemed not at all inquisitive that way.

Burnet's reflections upon Russian autocracy

After I had seen him often, and had conversed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the providence of God that had raised up such a furious man to so absolute an authority over so great a part of the world. David, considering the great things God had made for the use of man, broke out into the meditation, "What is man, that thou art so mindful of him?" But here there is an occasion for reversing these words, since man seems a very contemptible thing in the sight of God, while such a person as the Tsar has such multitudes put, as it were, under his feet, exposed to his restless jealousy and savage temper.

Peter's vengeance upon the rebels

He went from hence to the court of Vienna, where he purposed to have stayed some time, but he was called home sooner than he had intended upon a discovery, or a suspicion, of intrigues managed by his sister. The strangers, to whom he trusted most, were so true to him that those designs were crushed before he came back. But on this occasion he let loose his fury on all whom he suspected. Some hundreds of them were hanged all around Moscow, and it was said that he cut off many heads with his own hand; and so far was he from relenting or showing any sort of tenderness that he seemed delighted with it. How long he is to be the scourge of that nation God only knows.

As Burnet mentions, the old and mutinous Muscovite guard — the *Streltsi* (or *Strelitz*, as it is sometimes less accurately written) — took occasion during Peter's absence to rebel. Peter's sister Sophia was implicated, and the Tsar hurried home to make a cruel investigation and take horrible vengeance upon the seditious. An Austrian secretary of legation, named Von Korb, who was in Moscow on the Tsar's return, has left in his diary a painful but probably very accurate account of Peter's savage conduct.

26. An Austrian's account of Peter's way of dealing with rebels (1698–1699)

How sharp was the pain, how great the indignation, to which the Tsar's Majesty was mightily moved, when he knew of the rebellion of the Streltsi, betraying openly a mind panting for vengeance! He was still tarrying at Vienna, quite full of the desire of setting out for Italy; but, fervid as was his curiosity of rambling abroad, it was, nevertheless, speedily extinguished on the announcement of the troubles that had broken out in the bowels of his realm. Going immediately to Lefort (almost the only person that he condescended to treat with intimate familiarity), he thus indignantly broke out: "Tell me, Francis, son of James, how I can reach Moscow by the shortest way, in a brief space, so that I may wreak vengeance on this great perfidy of my people, with punishments worthy of their abominable crime. Not one of them shall escape with impunity. Around my royal city, which, with their impious efforts, they planned to destroy, I will have gibbets and gallows set upon the walls and ramparts, and each and every one of them will I put to a direful death." Nor did he long delay the plan for his justly excited wrath; he took the quick post, as his ambassador suggested, and in four weeks' time he had got over about three hundred miles without accident, and arrived the 4th of September, 1698, — a monarch for the well disposed, but an avenger for the wicked.

His first anxiety after his arrival was about the rebellion, — in what it consisted, what the insurgents meant, who dared to

instigate such a crime. And as nobody could answer accurately upon all points, and some pleaded their own ignorance, others the obstinacy of the Streltsi, he began to have suspicions of everybody's loyalty. . . . No day, holy or profane, were the inquisitors idle; every day was deemed fit and lawful for torturing. There were as many scourges as there were accused, and every inquisitor was a butcher. . . . The whole month of October was spent in lacerating the backs of culprits with the knout and with flames; no day were those that were left alive exempt from scourging or scorching; or else they were broken upon the wheel, or driven to the gibbet, or slain with the ax. . . .

Moscow adorned with corpses of rebels

To prove to all people how holy and inviolable are those walls of the city which the Streltsi rashly meditated scaling in a sudden assault, beams were run out from all the embrasures in the walls near the gates, in each of which two rebels were hanged. This day beheld about two hundred and fifty die that death. There are few cities fortified with as many palisades as Moscow has given gibbets to her guardian Streltsi.

[In front of the nunnery where Sophia was confined] there were thirty gibbets erected in a quadrangle shape, from which there hung two hundred and thirty Streltsi. The three principal ringleaders, who had tendered a petition to Sophia touching the administration of the realm, were hanged close to the windows of that princess, presenting, as it were, the petitions that were placed in their hands, so near that Sophia might with ease touch them.

Peter had a great number of foreign officers about him, German, French, Dutch, English, Scotch, in whom he placed great reliance. Alexander Gordon, a Scot, had, after serving for a short time under Louis XIV, drifted to Russia about 1694. He was appointed major general by the Tsar, of whom he gives his impressions as follows:

This great emperor came in a few years to know to a farthing the amount of all his revenues, as also how they were laid out.

He was at little or no expense about his person, and by living rather like a private gentleman than a prince he saved wholly that great expense which other monarchs are at in supporting the grandeur of their courts. It was uneasy for him to appear in majesty, which he seldom or never did, but when absolutely necessary, on such occasions as giving audience to ambassadors or the like; so that he had all the pleasure of a great emperor and at the same time that of a private gentleman. **27. General Gordon's impressions of Peter the Great**

He was a lover of company, and a man of much humor and pleasantry, exceedingly facetious and of vast natural parts. He had no letters; he could only read and write, but had a great regard for learning and was at much pains to introduce it into the country. He rose early; the morning he gave to business till ten or eleven o'clock at the farthest; all the rest of the day, and a great part of the night, to diversion and pleasure. He took his bottle heartily, so must all the company; for when he was merry himself he loved to see everybody so; though at the same time he could not endure habitual drinkers, for such he thought unfit for business.

When he paid a visit to a friend he would pass almost the whole night, not caring to part with good company till past two o'clock in the morning. He never kept guards about his person. . . . He never could abide ceremony, but loved to be spoke to frankly and without reserve.

A French historical writer of the first half of the eighteenth century, Jean Rousset de Missy, wrote a life of Peter the Great. Although the author never visited Russia, his volumes have some value, since he appears to have taken pains to get reliable information. He thus describes the reform in dress enforced by Peter.

The Tsar labored at the reform of fashions, or, more properly speaking, of dress. Until that time the Russians had always worn long beards, which they cherished and preserved with much care, allowing them to hang down on their bosoms, without even cutting the moustache. With these long beards they wore the hair very short, except the ecclesiastics, who, **28. How Peter the Great forced his people to wear Western dress**

to distinguish themselves, wore it very long. The Tsar, in order to reform that custom, ordered that gentlemen, merchants, and other subjects, except priests and peasants, should each pay a tax of one hundred rubles a year if they wished to keep their beards; the commoners had to pay one kopeck each. Officials were stationed at the gates of the towns to collect that tax, which the Russians regarded as an enormous sin on the part of the Tsar and as a thing which tended to the abolition of their religion.

These insinuations, which came from the priests, occasioned the publication of many pamphlets in Moscow, where for that reason alone the Tsar was regarded as a tyrant and a pagan; and there were many old Russians who, after having their beards shaved off, saved them preciously, in order to have them placed in their coffins, fearing that they would not be allowed to enter heaven without their beards. As for the young men, they followed the new custom with the more readiness, as it made them appear more agreeable to the fair sex.

From the reform in beards we may pass to that of clothes. Their garments, like those of the Orientals, were very long, reaching to the heel. The Tsar issued an ordinance abolishing that costume, commanding all the boyars (nobles) and all those who had positions at the court to dress after the French fashion, and likewise to adorn their clothes with gold or silver according to their means.

As for the rest of the people, the following method was employed. A suit of clothes cut according to the new fashion was hung at the gate of the city, with a decree enjoining upon all except peasants to have their clothes made on this model, under penalty of being forced to kneel and have all that part of their garments which fell below the knee cut off, or pay two grives every time they entered the town with clothes in the old style. Since the guards at the gates executed their duty in curtailing the garments in a sportive spirit, the people were amused and readily abandoned their old dress, especially in Moscow and its environs, and in the towns which the Tsar oftenest visited. The dress of the women was changed, too. English hairdressing was substituted for the caps and

bonnets hitherto worn ; bodices, stays, and skirts, for the former undergarments. . . .

The same ordinance also provided that in the future women, as well as men, should be invited to entertainments, such as weddings, banquets, and the like, where both sexes should mingle in the same hall, as in Holland and England. It was likewise added that these entertainments should conclude with concerts and dances, but that only those should be admitted who were dressed in English costumes. His Majesty set the example in all these changes.

Section 12. Rise of Prussia

The Great Elector was very anxious to withdraw his province of Prussia from Poland, which still claimed sovereignty over it. He first allied himself with Sweden, and defeated the Poles in the battle of Warsaw (1650). He then deserted Sweden, and allied himself with the Poles, on condition that they should acknowledge his sovereignty over Prussia. Cromwell found time to ask his secretary, John Milton, the poet, to felicitate the Great Elector on his successes.

29. Cromwell presents his respects to the Great Elector (1657)

Most Illustrious Prince ; dearest friend and ally :

Whereas your Highness's exceptional ability in both peace and war is already famous throughout the world, and your greatness of spirit and constancy are such as to make all neighboring rulers zealously seek your friendship, since none of them could desire a truer or more faithful friend and ally ; so we, in order to prove that we too are among those who hold the highest possible opinion of you and your distinguished services to the Christian Church, have sent to you the noble lord, William Jepson, a colonel, and a member of our upper house, in order that he may convey to you, in our name, our most cordial greetings, our best wishes for a happy termination of all your undertakings, and our especial good will and inclination toward you in all things. We beg, therefore, that in all his

dealings with you you will bestow on him the same faith and confidence as though everything were authorized and approved by us by word of mouth.

In a letter addressed to Louis XIV, the Pope protests against the arrogance of the successor of the Great Elector in assuming the kingly crown.

30. The Pope protests against the assumption of kingship by the elector of Brandenburg (1701)

We, Clement XI, send to our beloved son in Christ our good wishes and apostolic blessing.

Although it is well known to us that your Majesty in no way approves the bad example which has been given to all Christendom by the behavior of Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg, in daring to openly assume the title of king; nevertheless, lest we seem to fail in upholding our office, we cannot pass over this matter in silence; for a non-Catholic person cannot, without affront to the Church, assume the sacred title of King, and the said margrave has not hesitated to call himself king of a part of Prussia which has from of old belonged to the German knights.

Wherefore, in view of this our admonition, we require your Majesty (whose magnanimity is well known to us) to refrain from according to the said margrave the kingly dignity which he has so rashly ventured to assume. Such as he are condemned and cast out by the word of God, which says, "Ye have ruled, but not through me; ye have become princes and I have not known ye."

Our reverend brother, Philip Anthony, archbishop of Athens, will further communicate our views on this matter to your Majesty, to whom, in God's name, we wish all happiness and graciously send our apostolic blessing.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman's ring, the 16th of April, 1701.

One can form some idea of the character of Frederick William I from the instructions which he gave for the education of his son, who was later destined to win for himself the proud title of Frederick the Great.

31. Instructions of Frederick William I for the education of his son (condensed)

. . . Above all else, it is important that his character — and it is character which governs all human action — should be, from earliest youth, so formed that he will love and delight in virtue and feel horror and disgust for vice. Nothing can so greatly contribute to this end as to implant the true fear of God so early in the young heart that it shall take root and bear fruit in the time when there is no longer any guidance or oversight. For other men are guided toward virtue and away from evil by the rewards and punishments dealt out by those who are set above them, but the prince must rely on the fear of God alone, since he is subject to no human law, punishment, or reward.

My son and all his attendants shall say their prayers on their knees both morning and evening, and after prayers shall read a chapter from the Bible.

He shall be kept away from operas, comedies, and other worldly amusements and, as far as possible, be given a distaste for them. He must be taught to pay proper respect and submission to his parents, but without slavishness.

His tutors must use every means they can devise to restrain him from puffed-up pride and insolence and to train him in good management, economy, and modesty. And since nothing is so harmful as flattery, all those who are about the person of my son are forbidden to indulge in it on pain of my extreme displeasure.

As to the further studies that become a prince, his progress must depend upon his years and growth, but it must be looked to that he is taught the most important things first, and all without inspiring distaste or disgust. As this will depend largely on the adroitness of his preceptor, Duhan, the latter must consult from time to time with the head tutor as to the course to be pursued, which must then be presented to me for my approval.

As for the Latin language, he is not to learn it, and I desire that no one shall even speak to me on this subject; but his tutors shall see to it that he acquires a terse and elegant style in writing French as well as German. Arithmetic, mathematics, artillery, and agriculture he must be taught thoroughly, ancient history only superficially, but that of our own time and of the

last one hundred and fifty years as accurately as possible. He must have a thorough knowledge of law, of international law, of geography, and of what is most remarkable in each country; and, above all, my son must be carefully taught the history of his own House.

His tutors must take the greatest pains to imbue my son with a sincere love for the soldier's profession and to impress upon him that nothing else in the world can confer upon a prince such fame and honor as the sword, and that he will be despised by all the world if he does not only love it but seek in it his only glory; and his chief tutor shall provide for his being taught the practice of arms as play in his recreation hours.

Nothing is more becoming or more necessary in a prince than the ability to speak well under all circumstances; therefore my son's tutors must look to it that he accustom himself betimes to this art by practice. . . .

The following is a suggestive letter of the crown prince, Frederick, written at the age of sixteen, to his father, Frederick William I.

WUSTERHAUSEN, September 11, 1728

32. A youthful letter of Frederick the Great to his father

I have not ventured for a long time to present myself before my dear papa, partly because I was advised against it, but chiefly because I anticipated an even worse reception than usual and feared to vex my dear papa still further by the favor I have now to ask; so I have preferred to put it in writing.

I beg my dear papa that he will be kindly disposed toward me. I do assure him that after long examination of my conscience I do not find the slightest thing with which to reproach myself; but if, against my wish and will, I have vexed my dear papa, I hereby beg most humbly for forgiveness, and hope that my dear papa will give over the fearful hate which has appeared so plainly in his whole behavior and to which I cannot accustom myself. I have always thought hitherto that I had a kind father, but now I see the contrary. However, I will take courage and hope that my dear papa will think this all over and

take me again into his favor. Meantime I assure him that I will never, my life long, willingly fail him, and in spite of his disfavor I am still, with most dutiful and childlike respect, my dear papa's

Most obedient and faithful servant and son,

FREDERICK

Frederick William replied:

Frederick William's reply

A bad, obstinate boy, who does not love his father; for when one does one's best, and especially when one loves one's father, one does what he wishes not only when he is standing by but when he is not there to see. Moreover you know very well that I cannot stand an effeminate fellow who has no manly tastes, who cannot ride or shoot (to his shame be it said!), is untidy about his person, and wears his hair curled like a fool's instead of cutting it; and that I have condemned all these things a thousand times, and yet there is no sign of improvement. For the rest, haughty, offish as a country lout, conversing with none but a favored few instead of being affable and popular, grimacing like a fool, and never following my wishes out of love for me but only when forced into it, caring for nothing but to have his own way, and thinking nothing else is of any importance. This is my answer.

FREDERICK WILLIAM

CHAPTER V

THE WARS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

Section 13. Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa

Immediately upon his father's death Frederick threw himself eagerly into the business of government and opened negotiations with the chief European powers with a hope of securing their support, or at least preventing their opposition, when he should begin to realize his plans. The secret instructions which he personally prepared for Camas whom he sent to France, and Truchsess whom he dispatched to Hanover, clearly reveal the spirit of his whole reign. To his envoy to France he says:

33. Secret instructions of Frederick to his envoy to France (June, 1740)

The pretext for your journey to the court of France is to present your compliments to the king as an ally of my deceased father and to notify him of my father's death, assuring him that I am much inclined to maintain the same attitude toward him as my father, provided that this is reconcilable with my best interests. I am sending Truchsess to Hanover. He is to exercise a check there on the policy of the Cardinal [i.e. Fleury, the French chief minister], and you must talk about Truchsess as a man for whom I have the highest esteem and who is in the secret of things. Emphasize this so that the French wont wish to let me escape them and will make me better terms than they did the late king, my father. England wants me, that is sure, and it is certain that she will make me some advantageous propositions. . . .

The increase of my forces which will take place during your stay at Versailles will furnish you an excuse for talking of my

lively and impetuous habits of mind. You can say that it is to be feared that this strengthening of my army may produce a fire which will sweep all Europe; that it is the nature of young people to be rash, and you may recall the fact that the ambition to be a hero has caused, and may still cause, infinite disturbance to the repose of the nations. You may say that quite naturally I love France, but that if she neglects me now, that may settle the business once and forever; if, on the contrary, she conciliates me now, that I shall be in a position to render the French monarchy more important services than Gustavus Adolphus ever rendered it.

Be as civil as possible to the Cardinal; give him smooth words for smooth words and facts for facts. Find out the ministers' plans, for I am convinced that all their schemes are directed toward gaining some advantage when the Emperor shall die. Try to determine whether the question of the [Austrian] succession could induce them to undertake a war, or do you infer that they will merely temporize. Stir up so far as you can their dislike for England. Sound Maurepas and those whom you suspect may succeed the Cardinal and do your best to learn them by heart.

These, my dear Camas, are my instructions. I could not have found a more honest or worthy man for the most important commission possible at the present juncture. I rely upon your fidelity and skill in the execution of my orders, and remain your very faithful king,

FREDERICK

RUPPIN, June 11, 1740

To Truchsess, the representative he sent to Hanover, Frederick gave the following instructions:

34. Secret instructions for Frederick's envoy to Hanover (June, 1740)

I resolved to send you to Hanover to pay the usual compliments to the king of England on the occasion of the death of the late king, my father. You will pour out infinite assurances of my personal attachment, for you must exhibit in the presence of the ministers and the French minions the most hearty cordiality toward the English ministers, even if there is really very little, for you must pull the wool over the ministers' eyes in

order to learn their real intentions. If they talk to you about the welfare of Europe and alliances, say that no one has the welfare of Europe more at heart than I; that I ask nothing better than to share in it, but that I must have favorable terms and solid advantages which will assure the alliance of the two royal houses.

You will make much of my sending Camas to France, and will say, with some signs of jealousy, that he is one of my most intimate companions, that he has my full confidence, and that he is not going to France to waste his time. If they want to talk business, tell them that you are not entirely hopeless of the success of your mission if they will only make me as good conditions as the French. . . . If they speak of the increase of my forces, say that I shall not on that account live on less happy terms with my neighbors, and that I am looking rather to my safety than to dispoiling them,— in a word, surprise their secrets, proclaim my partiality for them, but do not say anything positive. Let them both hope and fear anything and everything. . . . Your reports should be made directly to me. In order to be quite sure of my position I have selected you as an honest man in whom I could place confidence; I rely accordingly upon your fidelity and skill, and assure you, in return, that I am your very affectionate king,

FREDERICK

CHARLOTTENBURG, June 18, 1740

Maria Theresa, the young and inexperienced ruler of the vast Hapsburg dominions, was no match for the indefatigable and alert king of Prussia, the character of whose intrigues is so well shown in the preceding letters to his envoys. A modern historian gives the following impressions of the young Maria Theresa, which he derived from the reports of the foreign diplomats who frequented her court.

At the time of her father's death Maria Theresa had not yet completed her twenty-fourth year. Although for a long time there had been no reasonable doubt that she was to be

heir to the thrones of Austria, still up to this time nothing whatever had been done to introduce her to the cares of State. She was therefore wholly untrained when she became head of her kingdom, and there was no way of judging how far she would become capable of carrying such an enormous burden. All, however, who knew her had confidence in her ability, since every one who came into contact with her gained the most favorable impression of her. She possessed in the highest degree all the qualities most likely to win admiration and respect.

35. A modern historian's picture of Maria Theresa

Her physical beauty had since her marriage developed to its full glory; she united exceptional charm and majesty of bearing in an unusual degree. The clear beam of her deep-blue eyes, vivacious but at the same time full of tenderness, the high forehead, the rich fair hair, the softly curved mouth, the gleaming white teeth, the fine oval and the gay expression of her face, the clear complexion, the wonderful form of her neck, her arms and hands, her figure, — of more than middle height, — radiant with health, at once strong and graceful, her light and at the same time dignified carriage all combined to prove Maria Theresa one of the few women designed by nature as a perfect model of womanhood.

In addition to these advantages she possessed an admirable alertness of mind, a keen judgment, an excellent memory, the fortunate gift of being able either in private conversation or on public occasions to express her thoughts with ease, certainty, and a convincingness as to the correctness of her views, a warm feeling for the reputation of her House and the welfare of her subjects, a deep-rooted regard for law and justice, a sincere piety, and an unshakable trust in God. Such was the princess in whose inexperienced but strong hand lay the fate of the Austrian House and of its wide possessions, — the fate, as well, of many millions of men wholly different in customs, race, and language, who recognized in their common ruler the strongest tie which held them together.

Frederick the Great sought to justify in the eyes of the world his occupation of Silesia by issuing the following declaration:

36. Frederick's manifesto upon seizing Silesia in 1740

We Frederick, etc. As it has pleased the Almighty to take from this world the Emperor Charles VI, and consequently the Empire and the most august House of Austria remain without a head; so that the latter, considering the extinction of the male line, finds itself likewise, in the matter of the succession to its dominions, much exposed to dangerous troubles of which a part have manifested themselves already, and others still are ready to break out:

Frederick claims to act in self-defense

As we have, moreover, always taken part in what tended to the good and preservation of the duchy of Silesia, for the reason that it serves for a barrier to our dominions, and that this province in particular might be exposed to the same troubles, and be invaded, to our very great prejudice, as well as to that of our frontiers, by those who entertain pretensions to the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria; from whence the flame of war might extend itself to our own territories, and expose them to evident danger:

Wherefore, in order to prevent consequences so dangerous, upon the outbreak of a general war with which Europe is threatened; and to provide for the defense of the dominions which God has given us, as well as for that of our subjects, conformably to the principles of natural right, which permits all and every one to be watchful of their own preservation; and also to prevent divers plans, which are partly kept concealed, but of which some have already manifested themselves, and may prove prejudicial to us; and, in fine, for very important reasons on our part, which we shall not fail to make public in due time, we have thought proper to cause our troops to enter the duchy of Silesia, in order to cover it from being invaded or attacked.

Frederick's friendship for Maria Theresa

And as by so doing we have no intention to prejudice in the least her Majesty the queen of Hungary, with whom we are resolved to keep a strict friendship, as well as with the whole Austrian House, and to do her and them all manner of good offices, in imitation of our ancestors; and as it will sufficiently appear in proper time that such only is our view, and that we are besides actually busied in explaining ourselves upon this occasion to her Majesty the queen of Hungary:

For this reason the inhabitants of the duchy of Silesia and of the incorporated provinces, of whatever religion or condition they are, may be assured that they have no hostility to apprehend on our part, nor on that of our troops; but that, on the contrary, they shall be maintained in their rights, liberties, and privileges, as well public and private as ecclesiastical and civil; that they shall have the benefit of our royal protection in its full extent; that we shall give strict orders that our troops observe the most exact discipline; and that no persons be molested nor troubled in the peaceable possession of what belongs to them.

The Silesians are to have their former rights and liberties

On the other hand, as we enter Silesia without any design of committing the least hostility, but only to support its inhabitants, preserve their properties, and provide for the tranquillity of that duchy, which is equally necessary to us, we are in great hopes that they will undertake nothing that may be contrary to these gracious offers and marks of friendship, or that can oblige us, contrary to our inclination, to take other measures; in which case they can impute only to themselves the bad consequences which may result from them. Signed

FREDERICK

BERLIN, December 1, 1740

The year before Frederick occupied Silesia war had broken out between England and Spain as a result of the efforts of the former to increase her Spanish-American commerce. The methods employed by the English merchants to advance their trade in the Spanish West Indies are described by a Spanish official, Alsedo y Herrera, who spent years in South America and Panama, of which he was governor, 1741–1749. The particular incidents he relates occurred some eight years after the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht, but they are typical of the conditions which prevailed during the following years and led finally to the outbreak of hostilities between England and Spain known as the war of Jenkins's ear.

37. A Spanish colonial official's account of the English trade in the West Indies

On June 21 of the same year (1721) the Southern Fleet of galleons left Cadiz under the command of Lieutenant General Baltasar de Guevara. Upon its arrival at Porto Bello in time for the annual Fair it encountered the *Royal George*, the first of the English license ships. Though allowed no more than 650 tons of cargo by the treaty of 1716, the vessel actually carried 975. General de Guevara forthwith intrusted to three license masters of the fleet the duty of measuring the hold of the English ship, but they could not prove the excess. Their failure was due in part to a confusion of the measurement in geometric feet, by which the dimensions of vessels are gauged, with the cubic handbreadths by which the tonnage is determined.

How the English evaded the provisions of the commercial treaty with Spain

In part, also, another circumstance is responsible for the failure of the Spanish officers to detect any evidence of fraud, assuming, of course, the absence of collusion on their side. Apparently the vessel had no greater carrying capacity than 650 tons, but persons who are expert in the rules of naval construction know very well that the steerage, commonly called "between-decks," equals in capacity a third of the hold, and the cabin a sixth of it; so when all three have been filled, — hold, steerage, and cabin, — the gross tonnage will be 975. The English ship always carried a cargo of this size. Indeed it was laden so heavily that its very gunwales were awash. Bundles and packages filled the hold, the steerage space was crowded with huge chests, and the cabin bulged with boxes and bales.

The English claimed that the materials stored in the steerage and cabin were furniture for the use of their trading houses, cloth goods for their agents and employees, and medicines and drugs for accidents and cures, but all of it was salable merchandise. Some things they could not conceal from the commander and the commercial representatives of the galleons. For example, many of the bales and bundles had not been pressed, the stitches in their seams were recent, and the ink of their lettering was still fresh. Hundreds of items, also, were lacking in the order of enumeration, which, if they had not been thrown overboard to lighten the ship during the course of the voyage, must have been put ashore somewhere. The proof soon appeared when the Spanish commissioner

of trade asked to see the original bill of lading so that he might know by this means whether the cargo was in excess of the amount permitted. On the ground that the treaty had authorized no such procedure, the request was denied.

During the course of the Fair the agents of the *Royal George* sold their goods to the colonial tradesmen thirty per cent cheaper than the Spanish merchants of the galleons could do. This advantage came from the fact that they had been able to bring the commodities directly from the place of manufacture, exempt from Spanish customs duties, convoy charges, transportation expenses, commissions, and the like. Even after the original contents of the ship had been disposed of, the supply was kept up by secret consignments of goods of English and European manufacture received from the packet boats and sloops engaged ostensibly in the slave trade.

The slave trade

Instead of bringing the negroes in the slave hulks directly from Africa to the ports specified in the Asiento,[1] the English cunningly devised the plan of landing them first at their colony of Jamaica. Here the slaves were packed, along with divers kinds of merchandise, into small boats that made frequent sailings. Not only was the cargo of the *Royal George* thus replenished as rapidly as it was exhausted, but trade could be surreptitiously carried on at times when the Fair was not in progress, and the treasure of the Spanish colonies duly gathered into English hands.

Nor was this all of their duplicity. On the pretext that a number of bales and boxes stored in the warehouse at Porto Bello were an unsold residue of the cargo, the governor of Panama was asked for the privilege of bringing them to that city. In this fashion the English could legitimize goods that had already been smuggled into the warehouses at Panama and then proceed to sell them to the merchants of New Granada and to the traders on the vessels that plied along the Pacific coast. On one occasion in 1723, at the instance of the Spanish commissary, ten loads of twenty bales each of the supposed residue of the cargo of the *Royal George* were opened on the

[1] The treaty between Spain and England granting the English the privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves.

way from Porto Bello to Panama and found to contain nothing but stones, sticks, and straw.

A knavish trick perpetrated by the English slave traders

A knavish trick connected with the slave trade should now be described. Having brought the negroes in a number of small boats to out-of-the-way places not authorized for the purpose in the Asiento, the English traders sold them for a third less than the prices at the regular trading stations. But since the treaty empowered them to seize, as smuggled goods, slaves brought in by individuals of other nations, they posted guards and sentinels in the outskirts of the spot where the sale had just taken place, and had the purchasers arrested. Many a thrifty-minded Spaniard who relished the thought of buying slaves at cheap rates fell into a snare from which he could not escape until he had paid the regular price in addition to what he had already given.

The English bribe Spanish officials

In order to obscure the facts of these fraudulent transactions as thoroughly as possible, the English contrived a scheme craftier than any hitherto related. It seems that the Asiento had allowed them to appoint "judges-conservators" whose business it should be to defend their privileges against unlawful interference. In the exercise of this right they appointed to the office the local governors of the ports where the traffic was carried on, and gave them a salary of two thousand dollars a year, supplemented by special gratifications in the shape of European furniture, jewels, and delicacies. Thus were the officials pledged to connivance and silence. If any of the governors should decline to be bribed, he was threatened with political destruction by the letters and complaints which the English minister at the Spanish court would surely present to the home authorities. Few there were under such circumstances who were able to resist the frauds, preserve their honor, and uphold their good name.

Section 14. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763)

Some time after the contest between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa and the rivalry of France, Spain, and England over trade and colonies had involved

Europe in a world-wide war, Louis XV announced to his subjects, in the following proclamation, his view of the conduct of England and Prussia in precipitating the Seven Years' War, and at the same time sought to justify his own policy, including the Austrian alliance which was unpopular with many of his people.

38. Louis XV's view of the Seven Years' War

In order to form a clear and just opinion with regard to the negotiation which has lately broken off between France and England, it is necessary to recollect the motives which occasioned the rupture between the two crowns, and the particular circumstances which have involved a considerable part of Europe in a war, which had at first America only for its object.

The violence of the English responsible for the war

The limits of Acadia and Canada, which, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were left to the discussion of commissaries to be named by the two potentates, have served England as a pretense for commencing hostilities, and for taking two French ships, the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, while, in the midst of peace, and under the sanction of the law of nations, the duke of Mirepoix, the French ambassador, was treating at London in order to prevent a rupture. . . . The unexpected violence offered on the part of the English necessarily brought on the war. His Majesty found himself obliged, though with regret, to repel by force the indignity offered to France, and to prefer the honor of the nation to the tranquillity it enjoyed.

England stirs up Europe against France

If the Court of London had no other design than to establish the respective possessions of the two crowns in North America upon a firm footing, she would have endeavored to obviate, as France had done, every incident which might engage the powers of the Continent of Europe to take part in a war which was absolutely foreign to them, and which in fact, having no other object but what related to the limits of Acadia and Canada, could not last long, and did not require the interposition of any other power. But England had more extensive views: she endeavored to raise a general war against France, and hoped to renew the famous league which was formed against Louis XIV upon the accession of Philip V to the throne of Spain; and to persuade all the courts of Europe

that they were as much interested in the limits of Acadia as in the succession of Charles II.

The pacific policy of Louis XV

The conduct of France, in consequence of the first hostilities in 1755, was very different from that of England: his Majesty pacified his neighbors, restrained his allies, refused the advantageous prospect of a war, which was proposed to him on the Continent, and gave all the powers to understand that his sole ambition was to restrain his enemies, the English, within due limits, and to maintain peace and justice among the powers, who ought to regard the differences respecting America with the most impartial neutrality.

Maria Theresa resists the overtures of England

The Court of London, to accomplish their ends, took advantage of his Majesty's equitable and pacific conduct. They knew that one of the allies of France might prove a lively obstacle to the establishment of peace and tranquillity, and made no doubt but, in securing that ally, they should be able to make that House, which was considered as the ancient rival of France, enter into all her views; but the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, animated by the same principles of equity of which his Majesty gave such laudable proofs, refused the proposals of England, and rather chose to run the risk of an unjust war, which was the natural and foreseen consequence of the treaty signed at Whitehall between the kings of England and Prussia, than to engage in one contrary to the good faith of her Imperial Majesty.

French and Austrian alliance of 1756

His Majesty and the empress-queen, previous to the king of Prussia's invasion of Saxony, entered into an alliance on the first of May, 1756, which was purely defensive. Their Majesties hoped that their alliance would check the fire which was ready to kindle in Germany, and that it would prevent a war on the Continent of Europe. They were deceived in their expectations: the Court of London had armed the king of Prussia: nothing could restrain a prince whose passion for war was unhappily violent: and he began hostilities at the end of the year 1756, by the invasion of Saxony and the attack of Bohemia.

The conflict consists of two distinct wars

From that time two distinct wars subsisted: one of France with England, which at the beginning had nothing in common with the war in Germany; and the other which the king

of Prussia waged against the empress-queen, and in which the king of England was interested as an ally of the king of Prussia, and his Majesty, as guarantor of the Treaty of Westphalia, and, after his defensive treaty of the first of May, as an ally of the Court of Vienna.

France and Austria bound to stand by each other to the end

We must conclude from what has been said with regard to the state of the two belligerent crowns, that the war of France with England is in fact, and in its origin, very distinct from that of the empress against the king of Prussia: nevertheless there is a connection between the two wars, which consists in the common engagement between the king and the empress-queen, not to make a separate peace with the common enemy but by mutual consent. This engagement, which is so conformable to the sentiments of friendship and confidence by which their Majesties are united, was necessary for their reciprocal security. As it would be dangerous for the forces of the king of Prussia to join against France with those of England, commanded by Prince Ferdinand, it would be equally prejudicial and contrary to the faith of his Majesty's engagements with the Court of Vienna, that the British army should join the king of Prussia against the empress-queen, and against the princes of the Empire who are in alliance with France.

Although the year 1758 produced no political event which might give room to a negotiation for the reëstablishment of peace, yet France, ever zealous to promote it with the same sincerity, made use of the mediation of Denmark to inform England of her perseverance in the same pacific dispositions; the answer from the Court of London was as haughty as it was negative, and destroyed all hopes of a negotiation.

The Seven Years' War opened disastrously for Frederick the Great. His only ally against all Europe was England. In spite of a victory over the French at Rossbach (November 5, 1757), his situation, which he describes in the following address to his generals, was a very critical one. But so great was his military skill and the valor of the soldiers, whom he inspired with his

own fiery confidence, that on December 5 he won the battle of Leuthen against tremendous odds, — a victory which Napoleon declared would alone have entitled him to rank among the greatest generals.

39. Frederick's address to his generals and staff officers December 3, 1757, before his victory at Leuthen

You are aware, gentlemen, that Prince Karl of Lorraine has succeeded in taking Schweidnitz, defeating the duke of Bevern and making himself master of Breslau, while I was engaged in checking the advance of the French and imperial forces. A part of Schleswig, my capital, and all the military stores it contained, are lost, and I should feel myself in dire straits indeed if it were not for my unbounded confidence in your courage, your constancy, and your love for the fatherland, which you have proved to me on so many occasions in the past. These services to me and to the fatherland have touched the deepest fibers of my heart. There is hardly one among you who has not distinguished himself by some conspicuous deed of valor, wherefore I flatter myself that in the approaching opportunity also you will not fail in any sacrifice that your country may demand of you.

And this opportunity is close at hand. I should feel that I had accomplished nothing if Austria were left in possession of Schleswig. Let me tell you then that I propose, in defiance of all the rules of the art of war, to attack the army of Prince Karl, three times as large as ours, wherever I find it. It is here no question of the numbers of the enemy nor of the importance of the positions they have occupied; all this I hope to overcome by the devotion of my troops and the careful carrying out of my plans. I must take this step or all will be lost; we must defeat the enemy, else we shall all lie buried under his batteries. So I believe — so I shall act.

Communicate my decision to all the officers of the army; prepare the common soldier for the exertions that are to come, and tell him that I feel justified in expecting unquestioning obedience from him. Remember that you are Prussians and you cannot show yourselves unworthy of that distinction. But if there be one or other among you who fears to share with me any and all danger, he shall at once be given his discharge without reproach from me.

(The solemn silence with which this speech was received and the glow of enthusiasm reflected in the faces of his hearers convinced Frederick that he had produced the effect he desired. With a gentle smile he continued :)

I was convinced that no one of you would wish to leave me ; I count then, absolutely, on your faithful help and on certain victory. Should I not return to reward you for your devotion, the fatherland itself must do it. Return now to camp and repeat to your troops what you have heard from me. The regiment of cavalry that does not immediately on the receipt of orders throw itself upon the enemy I will have unmounted immediately after the battle and make it a garrison regiment. The battalion of infantry that even begins to hesitate, no matter what the danger may be, shall lose its flags and its swords and have the gold lace stripped from its uniforms.

And now, gentlemen, farewell ; erelong we shall either have defeated the enemy or we shall see each other no more.

Before the end of the long and exhausting war Frederick had met with several crushing reverses, and his resources had dwindled to almost nothing. He writes the following letter, September 27, 1762, not long before peace was finally concluded, to his trusted French friend, d'Argens.

40. Frederick declares that he is growing old

I am so accustomed to reverses and mishaps and I am becoming so indifferent to the events of this world, that things which would formerly have made the most profound impression upon me now glide but lightly over my spirit. I can assure you, my dear marquis, that I have really made some progress in the practice of philosophy. I am growing old, the end of my days draws near, and my spirit is gradually detaching itself from the fleeting spectacle of this world, which I shall leave so soon. The circumstances of the past winter, the revolution in Russia, the perfidy of the English, — what subjects for cultivating one's reason if one but reflects on them ! And who would wish to keep low company all one's life in this worst of all possible worlds? I mention only a few of my causes for

disgust, but I have had so many during this war that my capacity for feeling is exhausted, and a callus of insensibility and indifference has formed that makes me good for nothing.

I write you naturally, just as I feel. It will pain you a little, but believe me that it is a great relief to unburden one's heart, and consider the situation in which I am placed.

Farewell, my dear marquis; I will write no more this time, and I close with assurances of my sincere friendship.

Section 15. Three Partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, and 1795)

The following is the declaration which the minister plenipotentiary of Russia communicated in the name of her Imperial Majesty Catharine II, to the king and republic of Poland on September 18, 1772, announcing the first partition of that country.

41. Catharine II announces the first partition of Poland (1772)

The States bordering upon Poland have so often been involved in the disorders which have arisen during interregnums in that kingdom, that the experience of the past would in any case have led the neighboring powers to occupy themselves seriously with the affairs of that State the moment that the throne became vacant by the death of King Augustus III. This consideration and the obvious necessity of preventing the fatal effects of dissensions which threatened to arise with this last vacancy of the throne, led the Court of St. Petersburg to endeavor to bring about a union in favor of a candidate who should be at once the most worthy of the throne, and the most suitable to the interests of his fellow-citizens and of the neighboring States. It endeavored at the same time to rectify certain abuses in the constitution of the Polish State.

The Court of Berlin seconded the measures of its ally, while the Court of Vienna, although anxious to coöperate in assuring the success of these praiseworthy measures, believed it best on account of the embarrassments which might arise from increasing the number of those interfering directly in the domestic

affairs of Poland, to remain neutral in this matter as well as in the war which sprang from it between Russia and the Ottoman Port.

As a result of these measures, the powers had the satisfaction of seeing the free and legal election of King Stanislas, who is now reigning, as well as other useful results. Everything seemed to promise a firm peace for both Poland and her neighbors, but unhappily the spirit of discord took possession of a portion of the nation, and destroyed in an instant all these hopes. Citizens armed themselves against one another, factions usurped the legitimate authority, which they abused in utter contempt of law, good order, and public security. Justice, the police, commerce, yes, agriculture itself, all were destroyed.

The tranquillity of Poland's neighbors disturbed

The natural connection between Poland and her neighbors led them to feel most keenly the sad effects of these disorders. They have been forced for a long time to take the most costly measures in order to assure the tranquillity of their own frontiers, and they are exposed, owing to uncertainty of what may result from the destruction of this kingdom, to the danger of the decline of the friendship and harmony which now exists among them. Nothing is consequently more urgent than a prompt remedy for these ills, which are producing the most vexatious effects in the neighboring states, and which, if no measures of prevention are taken, will probably entail modifications of the political system of this part of Europe.

Reasons of such weight forbid his Majesty the King of Prussia, her Majesty the Empress, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias longer to defer taking a decisive stand in so critical a situation. These powers have agreed accordingly to attempt to reach without loss of time a common understanding, in order to restore peace and good order in Poland, and establish the ancient constitution of this State and the liberties of the nation upon a sound basis.

Ancient claims to Polish territory are advanced

But while they have been able to prevent for the moment the ruin and the arbitrary destruction of this kingdom, owing to the friendship and good intelligence which now exists among them, they have had no assurance that they would meet with equal success in the future. They all had considerable claims

upon various possessions of the republic. They could not allow these to be abandoned to the course of events; they consequently determined to enforce their ancient rights and legitimate claims on the possessions of the republic, — claims which each is ready to justify in due time and in the proper place.

Consequently his Majesty the King of Prussia, her Majesty the Empress, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, having mutually set forth their rights and claims, and having come to an agreement, will each take an equivalent of the district to which they lay claim, and will put themselves in effective possession of those portions of Poland which are calculated to serve hereafter as the most natural and secure boundary between them. Each of the three powers reserves the privilege of issuing a statement in due time, by which their Majesties will renounce hereafter all rights, claims, and pretensions for damages or interest which they may have upon the possessions and subjects of the Republic.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, her Majesty the Empress, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias believe it their duty to announce their intentions to the whole Polish nation, requesting them to banish, or at least suppress, the spirit of disorder, so that the nation, coming together legally, can concert in the diet with the three courts in regard to the means for reëstablishing order and tranquillity, as well as to confirm by formal acts the exchange of titles and claims of each of the powers to those regions of which they have just taken possession.

Maria Theresa was heartily ashamed of her part in the First Partition of Poland. She writes as follows to Archduke Ferdinand, her son, explaining and excusing her course.

LAXENBURG, September 17, [1772]

. . . Firmian will receive a lengthy document with instructions in regard to our present situation, our engagements toward Russia, Prussia, and the Turks, but particularly in regard to this unfortunate partition of Poland, which is costing

me ten years of my life. It will make plain the whole unhappy history of that affair. How many times have I refused to agree to it! But disaster after disaster heaped upon us by the Turks; misery, famine, and pestilence at home; no hope of assistance either from France or England, and the prospect of being left isolated and threatened with a war both with Russia and Prussia, — it was all these considerations that finally forced me to accede to that unhappy proposal, which will remain a blot on my whole reign. God grant that I be not held responsible for it in the other world! I confess that I cannot keep from talking about this affair. I have taken it so to heart that it poisons and imbitters all my days, which even without that are sad enough. I must stop writing about it at once, or I shall worry myself into the blackest melancholy. . . .

42. Letter of Maria Theresa on the partition of Poland

The king of Prussia in his proclamation to the people of the Polish districts seized in the Second Partition makes many dark allusions to the doctrines of the French Revolution, the effects of which he pretends to dread since the new ideas are being widely accepted, as he alleges, in Poland.

We Frederick William, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, etc., make known to the respective states, bishops, abbots, voivodes, castellans, stahrosts, chamberlains, and country judges; the knighthood, vassals, and nobles, the magistrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of the spiritual and secular inhabitants of the voivodeships of Posen, Gnesen, Kalish, Siradia, the city and monastery of Chentochova, the province of Wielun; the voivodeship of Lentschitz, the province of Cujavia, the province of Doorzyn, the voivodeships of Rava and Plotsk, etc., in the circle of the boundaries, as likewise the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, hitherto in the possession of the crown of Poland, our gracious will, royal grace, and all sorts of good, and give them the following most gracious notice:

43. Frederick William II's proclamation to the Polish districts added to Prussia in the Second Partition (1793)

It is universally known that the Polish nation never ceased to afford to the neighboring powers, and chiefly to the Prussian

The spirit of rebellion increases in Poland

state, frequent reasons of just discontent. Not satisfied (contrary to all rules of good neighborhood) with injuring the Prussian territory by frequent invasions, with molesting and ill using the subjects on this side the frontiers, and with almost continually refusing them justice and lawful satisfaction; this nation has, besides, always busied itself with pernicious plans, which must needs attract the attention of the neighboring powers. These are matters of fact which could not escape the eye of an attentive observer of the late occurrences in Poland: but what chiefly excited the serious consideration of the neighboring powers is the spirit of rebellion continually increasing in Poland, and the visible influence which was obtained by those abominable factions, through which all civil, political, and religious ties would have been dissolved, and the inhabitants of Poland exposed to all the tremendous consequences of anarchy, and plunged into miseries, the end of which could not be foreseen.

If in every country the adoption and spreading of such destructive principles be always attended with the loss of the tranquillity and happiness of its inhabitants, its destructive consequences are the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland; since this nation has always distinguished itself by disturbances and party spirit, and is powerful enough of itself to become dangerous to its neighbors by these disturbances.

To await an actual outbreak is dangerous

It would certainly militate against the first rules of sound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preservation of tranquillity in our dominions, if, in such a state of things in a neighboring great kingdom, we should remain inactive spectators, and wait for the period when the factions feel themselves strong enough to appear in public, thus exposing our own neighboring provinces to several dangers from the consequences of anarchy on our frontiers.

We have, therefore, in conjunction with her Majesty the Empress of Russia, and with the assent of his Majesty the Roman Emperor, acknowledged that the safety of our states did require to set to the republic of Poland such boundaries as are more compatible with her interior strength and situation, and may the more readily afford to her the means of procuring,

without prejudice to her liberty, a well-ordered, solid, and active form of government; of maintaining herself in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same; and of preventing, by these means, the disturbances which have so often shaken her own tranquillity and endangered the safety of her neighbors.

Frederick William seeks to save the Poles from pernicious doctrines

In order to attain this end, and to preserve the republic of Poland from the dreadful consequences which must be the result of her internal divisions, and to rescue her from her utter ruin but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the destructive doctrines which they are bent to follow; there is, acccording to our thorough persuasion (to which also her Majesty the Empress of all the Russian accedes), no other means except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our states, and for this purpose immediately to take possession of the same, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might arise from the continuance of the reciprocal disturbances.

Wherefore we have resolved, with the assent of her Russian majesty, to take possession of the above-mentioned districts of Poland, and also of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, in order to incorporate them into our dominions.

The Polish diet advised to accept the partition peacefully

We herewith publicly announce our firm and unshaken resolution, and expect that the Polish nation will soon assemble in the diet, and adopt the necessary measures to the end of settling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the salutary end of securing to the republic of Poland an undisturbed peace, and preserving her inhabitants from the terrible consequences of anarchy. At the same time, we exhort the states and inhabitants of the districts and towns which we have taken possession of, as already mentioned, both in a gracious and serious manner, not to oppose our commanders and troops ordered for that purpose, but rather tractably to submit to our government, and acknowledge us, from this day forward, as their lawful king and sovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient subjects, and to renounce all connection with the crown of Poland.

We doubt not that all whom this may concern will attend to it with obedience; but in case, and contrary to all expectation,

some one or other state and inhabitants of the said districts and towns should refuse to obey the contents of this, and not take the oath of allegiance or submit to our government, or should even attempt to oppose our commanders and troops, such person or persons have unavoidably to expect that the punishment usual in such cases shall be inflicted upon them without any distinction.

In witness whereof we have subscribed this proclamation with our own hand, and caused our royal seal to be set to it, to be published in due place, and to be publicly printed.

Done at Berlin the 25th of March, 1793.

FREDERICK WILLIAM

In the agreement between Russia and Austria for the final division of Poland, dated January 3, 1795, the following reasons are given for the action of the powers.

44. Declaration of the powers concerning the final partition of Poland (1795)

The efforts which her Imperial Majesty has been obliged to take in order to repress and stifle the revolt and insurrection which broke out in Poland through the spread of the most pernicious doctrines, so dangerous for the tranquillity of the neighboring powers, have been crowned with the most happy and complete success, and Poland has been entirely pacified and conquered by the arms of the Empress. Her Majesty, with a confidence founded upon the justice of her cause, and the means which she resorted to, to assure its triumph, had previously hastened to come to an agreement with her two allies, his Majesty the Emperor of the Romans and his Majesty the King of Prussia, upon the most efficient measures to be taken in order to prevent a revival of such disorders as those which had so justly alarmed them, and of which the germs, continually fermenting in the minds of those who were profoundly imbued with the most perverse principles, could hardly fail to develop sooner or later unless they were prevented by a firm and vigorous government.

These two sovereigns, convinced by past experience of the absolute incapacity of the republic of Poland to give itself such

a government, or to live peacefully under its laws so long as it maintained any degree of independence, have in their wisdom and in their love for peace and the happiness of their subjects, reached the conclusion that it was indispensably necessary to have recourse and proceed to a complete partition of this republic among the three neighboring powers. Having learned their views and finding these perfectly in harmony with her own, her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias determined to negotiate first with each of the two high allies above mentioned, separately, and then with the two together, in regard to a definite agreement as to the respective portions which should fall to each as a result of their common resolution.

A solution of the Polish problem finally reached

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND FOR INDIA

Section 16. How Europe began to extend its Commerce over the Whole World

One of the noted Italian scholars of the first half of the fifteenth century, Poggio Bracciolini, thus narrates a conversation he had with a Venetian merchant who had visited India and returned to Italy about 1440. This gives us some idea of the overland journey before Vasco da Gama had opened the way by water around Africa.

45. An account of the overland route to India in the fifteenth century

A certain Venetian named Nicolo, who had penetrated to the interior of India, came to Pope Eugenius IV (he being then for the second time at Florence) for the purpose of craving absolution, inasmuch as, when, on his return from India, he had arrived at the confines of Egypt on the Red Sea, he was compelled to renounce his faith, not so much from fear of death to himself as from the danger which threatened his wife and children who accompanied him. I, being very desirous of his conversation (for I had heard of many things related by him which were well worth knowing), questioned him diligently, both in the meetings of learned men and at my own house, upon many matters which seemed to deserve committing to memory and to writing.

He discoursed learnedly and gravely concerning his journey to such remote nations, of the situation and different manners and customs of the Indians, also of their animals and trees and spices, and in what place each thing is produced. His accounts bore all the appearance of being true and not fabrications. He

went farther than any former traveler ever penetrated, so far as our records inform us. For he crossed the Ganges and traveled far beyond the island of Taprobana [i.e. Ceylon], a point which there is no evidence that any European had previously reached, with the exception of the commander of a fleet of Alexander the Great, and a Roman citizen in the time of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, both of whom were driven there by tempests.

How trade with the East was formerly carried on

Nicolo, being a young man, resided as a merchant in the city of Damascus in Syria. Having learned the Arabic language, he departed thence with his merchandise in company with six hundred other merchants (who formed what is commonly called a caravan), with whom he passed over the deserts of Arabia Petræa, and thence through Chaldæa until he arrived at the Euphrates. . . . On the river Euphrates there is a noble city, a part of the ancient city of Babylon, the circumference of which is fourteen miles, and which is called by the inhabitants thereof by the new name of Baldochia (Bagdad). The river Euphrates flows through the center of the city, the two parts of which are connected by a single bridge of fourteen arches, with strong towers at both ends. Many monuments and foundations of buildings of the ancient city are still to be seen. In the upper part of the city there is a very strong fortress and also the royal palace.

Sailing hence for the space of twenty days down the river, in which he saw many noble and cultivated islands, and then traveling for eight days through the country, he arrived at a city called Balsera (Bassorah), and in four days' journey beyond, at the Persian Gulf where the sea rises and falls in the manner of the Atlantic Ocean. Sailing through this gulf for the space of five days he came to the port of Colcus and afterward to Ormuz (which is a small island in the said gulf), distant from the mainland twelve miles. Leaving this island and turning towards India for the space of one hundred miles he arrived at the city of Calacatia, a very noble emporium of the Persians. Here having remained for some time, he learned the Persian language, of which he afterwards made great use, and also adopted the dress of the country, which he continued to wear

during the whole period of his travels. Subsequently he and some Persian merchants freighted a ship and, having first taken a solemn oath to be faithful and loyal companions one to another, [sailed for India].

The king of Portugal had the satisfaction of announcing to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain in July, 1499, that his mariners had made a discovery almost equal in importance to that of Columbus, who had set sail under the auspices of the queen of Castile seven years before.

46. King Manuel's letter to the king and queen of Castile, announcing Vasco da Gama's voyage to India

Most high and excellent Prince and Princess, most potent Lord and Lady:

Your Highnesses already know that we had ordered Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of our household, and his brother Paulo da Gama with four vessels to make discoveries by sea, and that two years have now elapsed since their departure. And since the principal motive of this enterprise has been, as with our predecessors, the service of God our Lord and our own advantage, it pleased him in his mercy to speed them on their route.

A rich trade in spices and precious stones is promised

From a message which has now been brought to this city by one of the captains, we learn that they did reach and discover India and other kingdoms and lordships bordering upon it; that they entered and navigated its seas, finding large cities, large edifices and rivers, and great populations, among whom is carried on all the trade in spices and precious stones which are forwarded in ships (which these same explorers saw and met with in good numbers and of great size) to Mecca and thence to Cairo, whence they are dispersed throughout the world. Of these spices they have brought a quantity, including cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmeg, and pepper, as well as other kinds, together with the boughs and leaves of the same; also many fine stones of all sorts, such as rubies and others. And they also came to a country in which there are mines of gold, of which, as of the spices and precious stones, they did not bring as much as they could have done, for they took no merchandise with them.

As we are aware that your Highnesses will hear of these things with much pleasure and satisfaction, we thought it well to give this information. And your Highnesses may believe, in accordance with what we have learnt concerning the Christian people whom these explorers reached, that it will be possible (notwithstanding that they are not as yet strong in the faith or possessed of a thorough knowledge of it) to do much in the service of God and the exaltation of the Holy Faith, once they shall have been converted and fully fortified in it. And when they shall have thus been fortified in the faith there will be an opportunity for destroying the Moors [i.e. Mohammedans] of those parts.

An opportunity afforded for destroying Mohammedans

Moreover, we hope, with the help of God, that the great trade, which now enriches the Moors of those parts through whose hands it passes without the intervention of other persons or peoples, shall be diverted, in consequence of our regulations, to the natives and ships of our own kingdom, so that thenceforth all Christendom in this part of Europe shall be able in a large measure to provide itself with these spices and precious stones. This, with the help of God, who in his mercy thus ordained it, will cause our designs and intentions to be pushed with more ardor especially as respects the war upon the Moors of the territories conquered by us in these parts, which your Highnesses are so firmly resolved upon and in which we are equally zealous.

And we pray your Highnesses, in consideration of this great favor, which with much gratitude we received from our Lord, to cause to be addressed to him those praises which are his due.

Most high and excellent Prince and Princess, most potent Lord and Lady, may the Lord our God ever hold your persons and kingdoms in his holy keeping.

Written at Lisbon, July, 1499

The rapid extension of the Portuguese commerce in India under the leadership of Albuquerque, who died in 1515, is enthusiastically summed up in the following account of his achievements.

47. How the Portuguese speedily established themselves in India

The great Affonso de Albuquerque, perceiving the desires of King Manuel for universal peace in India, . . . labored earnestly so long as he lived to preserve harmony with all the kings and Hindoo lords of those parts, maintaining with them a constant intercourse, sending his messengers to them and offering to place at their disposal the fleets of the king of Portugal for the destruction of the Moors, and the casting them out of the country. . . .

The Portuguese pacify the East

At the time of Affonso de Albuquerque's death, peace was universal from Ormuz to Ceylon, . . . and all the kings, lords, and marine merchants, and the interior lands he left so quiet and well ordered that there never was a nation left so completely conquered and subdued by force of arms as this was. And the land had by this time become so pacified that the Portuguese used to carry on their merchant business in every place, without being robbed of anything or being taken captive; and they used to navigate the whole of the Indian sea in their ships, vessels, small and large zambucos, and used to cross the sea in safety from one part to another; and the natives on their part used to visit Goa with their wares without any molestation being offered to them. . . .

And when the Moors beheld the apparently slight power of fleets and fighting men belonging to the king of Portugal in India, they looked upon these conquests and successes as nothing less than miracles. Affonso de Albuquerque, with that greatness of spirit which always characterized him, frequently used to say that he trusted in our Lord for taking Aden and establishing the Portuguese therein, so as to be thereby enabled to close the straits with a powerful fortress, thus compelling the Grand Sultan finally to abandon his hope of becoming chief lord of India; and when this had been successfully carried out, then to return again to Portugal for a short rest, to lean a little while on the handle of the hoe. But our Lord in his divine providence cut all this short when he took him to himself.

Portuguese strongholds in the East

At the time of Affonso de Albuquerque's death he left in Malacca — twice captured by his arms from the Moors — a very strongly fortified fortress, with ample supplies of artillery and

plenty of men to keep it. He left another in Ormuz, completed and furnished with a large body of soldiers and a great quantity of guns, and all that kingdom under the obedience of the king of Portugal — this too he had captured on two occasions from the Moors. He left a fortress in Calicut, of great defensive strength, provided with men and guns. He left the fortress of Cochin finished and in the same condition as it now stands, — he had commenced to build it on the occasion of his first visit to India, — furnished with seven very large elephants employed in the shipyard on the beach. He rebuilt the fortress of Cananore with stone and mortar, for up to that time it was built with mud. He left fleets attached to all these fortresses for their protection and maintenance.

The Portuguese city of Goa

He left the city of Goa fortified with many castles set around the island for its safety — this too had been taken twice under his assault from the Moors. He left therein many Portuguese families, many Hindoos converted to Christianity, and a large body of mounted men. He left many armorers, and officers employed in the setting of jewels and precious stones, saddle makers, buckler makers, blacksmiths, stone masons, gun founders, master workmen skilled in the making of matchlocks, ships' carpenters, caulkers; and the greater part of these were Portuguese, the rest native Christians, as true vassals and subjects of the king of Portugal as though they were natives of Portugal.

He left the magazines of Goa supplied with large quantities of weapons, many caparisons for horses, many saddles, much store of gunpowder, cannon balls, and all other kinds of necessary munitions of war. . . . He ordered money to be struck at Goa and Malacca in the name of the king of Portugal; and this was current throughout the whole of India. He was the first captain of the king of Portugal who penetrated the Straits of the Red Sea.

Section 17. England gains a Foothold in India

The English East India Company was chartered in 1601. In 1614 Sir Thomas Roe was instructed by James I to visit the court of Jehangir, the Mongol emperor of

Hindustan. Sir Thomas was to make a commercial agreement and to secure for the East India Company sites for commercial agencies, — "factories," as they were called. Sir Thomas was successful, and Jehangir sent the following remarkably polite letter to James I.

48. Letter of the Great Mogul to James I welcoming English traders

When your Majesty shall open this letter let your royal heart be as fresh as a sweet garden. Let all people make reverence at your gate; let your throne be advanced higher; amongst the greatness of the kings of the prophet Jesus, let your Majesty be the greatest, and all monarchies derive their counsel and wisdom from your breast as from a fountain, that the law of the majesty of Jesus may revive and flourish under your protection.

The letter of love and friendship which you sent and the presents, tokens of your good affection toward me, I have received by the hands of your ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe (who well deserveth to be your trusted servant), delivered to me in an acceptable and happy hour; upon which mine eyes were so fixed that I could not easily remove them to any other object, and have accepted them with great joy and delight.

Upon which assurance of your royal love I have given my general command to all the kingdoms and ports of my dominions to receive all the merchants of the English nation as the subjects of my friend; that in what place soever they choose to live, they may have reception and residence to their own content and safety; and what goods soever they desire to sell or buy, they may have free liberty without any restraint; and at what port soever they shall arrive, that neither Portugal nor any other shall dare to molest their quiet; and in what city soever they shall have residence, I have commanded all my governors and captains to give them freedom answerable to their own desires; to sell, buy, and to transport into their country at their pleasure.

For confirmation of our love and friendship, I desire your Majesty to command your merchants to bring in their ships all sorts of rarities and rich goods fit for my palace; and that you be pleased to send me your royal letters by every

opportunity, that I may rejoice in your health and prosperous affairs; that our friendship may be interchanged and eternal.

Your Majesty is learned and quick-sighted as a prophet, and can conceive so much by few words that I need write no more.

The God of heaven give you and us increase of honor.

The English naturally got into trouble immediately with the Dutch traders in the East Indies.

A relation of the Frenchmen which lately arrived into France in a ship of Dieppe out of the East Indies concerning the wrongs and abuses which the Hollanders had lately done to the English there (*1617*)

49. A Frenchman's account of hostility of the Dutch to English traders (1617)

Two English ships coming to Banda, in course of trade and traffic, the Hollanders assaulted with certain of their ships, which English ships in their resistance and defense the said Hollanders took, slew seven or eight of their men (whereof one was a chief factor), chained the captain, merchants, and mariners, and put the mariners into their galleys. All the munition and victuals in the said English ships did the Hollanders take out and carried the same ashore, challenging all to be theirs as their proper inheritance, and therefore will be lords of the same.

The Hollanders likewise took an English bark going from Bantam[1] to Jacatra, slew some of her men, wounded many more, chained the captain and mariners, and carried away the said bark at the stern of one of their ships into Bantam Road, and there anchored close by the admiral of the English in most despiteful and daring manner, making their vaunts that they were the chief people of all Europe; and to make a show of the same they advanced their own arms and colors, and under them placed the colors of England and France, and then shot at the said English and French colors in most contemptuous and disdainful manner.

[1] Bantam was originally the chief settlement of the Dutch in Java, near the Strait of Sunda, somewhat to the west of the present important port of Batavia.

At Bantam the English and Hollanders had great disputes, insomuch as it was verily thought they would have fought together in the road; for the general of the Hollanders had brought thither fourteen great ships, ready to fight, where the English had nine, which they fitted for defense; but they fought not, for the governor of Bantam forbade them to fight in his road, and threatened them that if they did fight contrary to his command he would cut the throats of all their men that he should find upon the land.

The 27th of November the Hollanders proclaimed war against all the English at the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna, threatening to make one and all prizes and to put them to the edge of the sword; which proclamation of theirs they fixed upon the doors of their lodgings at Bantam, challenging all to be theirs as their proper inheritance.

Colbert was well aware of the successful manner in which the Dutch were supplanting the Portuguese in India in his time, and he consequently instructed the French ambassador to Portugal, Saint-Romain, to persuade the Portuguese to unite with the French East India Company for the purpose of defending themselves against the Dutch. It is clear that he hardly regarded the English as serious competitors in 1669 when he drew up the following summary of the situation.

PARIS, March 16, 1669

50. Colbert's view of the situation in India in 1669

His lordship of Saint-Romain is well informed of the pains which his Majesty has taken to create the East India Company, of the powerful protection which he gives it, and of the great sums of money which he has had furnished from the royal treasury for its establishment and for the support of the great losses which it has already sustained and which it will continue to sustain until the directors who are at present in the Indies have firmly secured the commerce, and surmounted the difficulties that all enterprises of this kind meet in their commencement. . . .

How the Dutch supplanted the Portuguese

It is certain that of the four important nations of Europe which traffic in the Indies, namely, the French, the English, the Portuguese, and the Dutch, the Portuguese have been for a long time alone in possession of this commerce after having brought under their domination all the isles of Asia and established divers places and important posts on all the coasts of Africa, of Persia, of the Indies, of China, and of Japan; but it is certain also that this great power has notably diminished since the Dutch began their commerce in these same countries, and that this power finds itself reduced at present to the single places of Goa, Diu, and some others less important on the Coromandel coast.

Conduct of the Dutch in the Spice Islands

The Dutch are at present masters of all the isles and even of all the countries which produce the spices; and in their effort to preserve for themselves this commerce, they destroy and depopulate in all the spice countries, either on account of the difficulty of rendering themselves absolute masters there, or because they think that it is to the advantage of their commerce that there should not be so great an abundance. And not only does their effort carry them to this point — it passes indeed even beyond it and leads them to drive away, whenever they can, all the other nations and make themselves masters of everything. The bad treatment they gave the English, which drew upon them the last war, the expenses and risk of which are of no consideration to them, seeing that they have succeeded in driving the English from their establishment in the island of *Poulo-Ron;* all the measures which have served them in winning from the Portuguese the island of Ceylon and all the other isles, even in taking, in violation of treaties, the villages of Cochin and of Cananore; and in general all that the Dutch have done in these countries since they have brought their avarice and tyranny there, of which the Portuguese are only too well informed, are conclusive proofs that nothing can be expected of them except the entire destruction of the Portuguese, so soon as the Dutch can hope to compass this by force or by other means still more dangerous. And if one considers the state in which the Dutch are and the advantages which the public and private individuals of their country draw

from this commerce, together with the condition of the Portuguese, one will easily decide that the time of complete expulsion of the latter from all these countries perhaps approaches, unless prompt and sufficient remedy is employed.

The enormous value of the Dutch trade

It is certain that the fleets which arrive every year in Holland carry merchandise to the value of ten to twelve million livres, which they then distribute in all the realms of Europe and draw from it the money which causes their power; that the company which produces this advantage to the public of the country maintained at its own expense as many as 30 vessels during the last war with England; that this same company has more than 150 vessels in the Indies, that it made and sustained the war against the Portuguese with the advantages already noticed, that it has continued it against divers kings of the same country and always with advantage; that it puts on foot in the same Indies an infantry of from 10 to 12 thousand men and a navy of from 40 to 50 vessels; that it is mistress of all the isles and has alone established its commerce in China and Japan, — it might even be said in all the Indies, seeing that the merchandise which is carried by the English is not important.

And on the contrary, the Portuguese have neither vessels nor troops, and there remain to them only the single places of Goa, Diu, and certain others of less consideration.

This prodigious difference in the two nations, and the effort of the Dutch to preserve themselves and their strength, make clear to the Portuguese the necessity of a powerful and efficacious remedy in order to escape entire ruin.

The Portuguese need help against the Dutch

The only remedy for the Portuguese consists in forming a partnership and perhaps even partitioning the districts and places which they still control, with some one of the other nations which, having the same interests, may join its power to theirs, to render them by this means more formidable to the Dutch, and to place them even in a condition, by their efforts, not only to restrain the Dutch within their present limits, but even to seize a portion of the commerce and the places that the Dutch have usurped by force.

The French alone are capable of procuring this great advantage for the Portuguese, in giving them, by firm treaties which

could be made between their kings, a share in the settlements and the commerce which remain to them, seeing that the religion of the English does not permit the Portuguese to call them into this partnership.

For this result, his Majesty desires that his said lordship of Saint-Romain, instructed in all the arguments contained in this paper, together with all those that his capacity, his experience, and the knowledge that he may be able to get from the Portuguese will furnish him, should suggest them on every occasion to the mind of the prince, of the queen, and of all their ministers, and work incessantly to bring them to treat with his Majesty about some one of their places in the Indies, and also to effect a commercial union between the French and the Portuguese, on conditions of common advantage to the two nations.

Section 18. India and the Struggle between England and France for its Possession

In 1655 a Frenchman, François Bernier, made a journey to Hindustan, and there became the court physician of the Great Mogul. He wrote an account of his journey and a number of letters. A letter addressed to Colbert, which gives an admirable description of the state of India and the relations of the Great Mogul to the subject princes and peoples, is included in the following extract.

51. India under the later Moguls (from Bernier)

He who reigned there was called Shah Jehan, — that is to say, king of the world; who, according to the history of that country, was son of Jehangir, which signifieth conqueror of the world; grandchild to Akbar, meaning great; and thus ascending by Houmayons, or the fortunate, father of Akbar, and his other predecessors, he was the tenth of those that were descended from that Timur-Lengue, which signifieth the lame prince, commonly and corruptly called Tamerlane, so renowned for his conquests; who married his near kinswoman,

The Moguls claim to be descended from Timur

the only daughter of the prince of the nations of Great Tartary, called Moguls, who have left and communicated their name to the strangers that now govern *Indostan*, the country of the Indians; though those that are employed in public charges and offices, and even those that are listed in the militia, be not all of the race of the Moguls, but strangers and nations gathered out of all countries, most of them Persians, some Arabians, and some Turks. For, to be esteemed a Mogul it is enough to be a stranger, white of face, and a Mohammedan; in distinction as well to the Indians, who are brown and pagans, as to the Christians of Europe, who are called Franguis. . . .

From a letter of Bernier's to Colbert

My lord, you may have seen before this, by the maps of Asia, how great every way is the extent of the empire of the Great Mogul, which is commonly called India or Indostan.

Extent of Hindustan

I have not measured it mathematically; but to speak of it according to the ordinary journeys of the country, after the rate of three whole months' march, traversing from the frontiers of the kingdom of Golconda as far as beyond Kazni near Kandahar, which is the first town of Persia, I cannot persuade myself otherwise but that it is at least five times as far as from Paris to Lyons, — that is, about five hundred common leagues. . . .

Tributary peoples

In this same extent of country there are sundry nations which the Mogul is not full master of, most of them still retaining their particular sovereigns and lords that neither obey him nor pay him tribute but from constraint; many that do little, some that do nothing at all, and some also that receive tribute from him. . . .

The haughty Mohammedan Pathans

Such are the Pathans, a Mohammedan people issued from the side of the river Ganges toward Bengal, who before the invasion of the Moguls in India had taken their time to make themselves potent in many places, and chiefly at Delhi, and to render many rajahs thereabout their tributaries. These Pathans are fierce and warlike, and even the meanest of them, though they be but waiting men and porters, are still of a very high spirit, being often heard to say, by way of swearing, "Let me never be king of Delhi, if it be not so"; a people that despise

the Indians, heathens, and Moguls, and mortally hate the last, still remembering what they were formerly, before they were by them driven away from their large principalities, and constrained to retire hither and thither. . . .

The rajahs

Of the like sort are more than an hundred rajahs, or considerable heathen sovereigns, dispersed through the whole empire, some near to, others remote from, Agra and Delhi; amongst whom there are about fifteen or sixteen that are very rich and puissant; such are Rana (who formerly was, as it were, emperor of the rajahs, and who is said to be of the progeny of King Porus), Jesseigne, and Jessomseigne, who are so great and powerful that if they three alone should combine they would hold him [i.e. the Great Mogul] back; each of them being able in a very short time to raise and bring into the field twenty-five thousand horse, better troops than the Mogul's. These cavaliers are called rajiputs, or children of the rajahs. These are men who, as I have said elsewhere, carry swords from father to son, and to whom the rajahs allot land on condition that they be always ready to appear on horseback when the rajah commands. They can endure much hardship, and they want nothing but good order and discipline to make them good soldiers.

It is evident from Bernier's account that only a powerful ruler could keep India from falling apart into many principalities, and it so happened that just when the French entered upon their contest with the English over the Eastern trade, a vigorous emperor, Aurangzeb (1660–1707), occupied the throne. He was, however, the last Great Mogul of importance, and he saw in his old age that anarchy was likely to come when he was gone. His farewell to this vain world is sad indeed. He thus writes to a friend:

Health to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world and a stranger I depart.

52. Aurangzeb forecasts the dissolution of the Mogul's empire

I know nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined. The instant which has passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a guide in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes for the future are lost. The fever has left me; but nothing remains of me but skin and bone. . . . The camp and followers, helpless and frightened, are, like myself, full of alarms, restless as quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel in the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavors of my sons are indispensable. Give my last prayers to my grandson, whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Began [his daughter] appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell, farewell, farewell.

As Aurangzeb had foreseen, the Indian empire began to go to pieces shortly after his death, and accordingly the nawabs, or governors, in the various provinces asserted practical independence of his successors. In 1742 the governorship of Bengal passed into the hands of a very capable ruler, Aliverdi Khan, who kept the natives and foreigners in order, but on his death, fourteen years later, the authority fell to a headstrong young man, Surajah Dowlah, whose conduct precipitated a serious conflict in his provinces. A report of the Dutch

in Bengal to the home government narrates how the trouble began that ended in the establishment of English rule in northeastern India.

53. A Dutch report of the conduct of Surajah Dowlah (1756)

The Nawab Aliverdi Khan having died in April of this year, and his adopted son, Surajah Dowlah, having been called to the helm of affairs, the English at Calcutta caused ramparts of a certain kind of stone to be erected. With the knowledge of the under-nawab of Dacca, and without paying any attention to the prohibitions and notices issued by the young prince concerning these matters, they gave protection to one Kissendas, who thought he could escape from the nawab.

His Excellency, being thus defied, occupied the English fort of Cossimbazar [Kasimbazar] not before the beginning of June. This being surrendered by the chief and his council without any fighting or resistance, his Excellency, taking our English friends of Cossimbazar as prisoners with him, marched by forced marches straight on Calcutta, at the head of an army of sixty or seventy thousand men.

Surajah Dowlah seizes the English posts in Calcutta

The whole world thought and expected that he would have knocked his head against such a strong place, but, as it turned out, the English defended themselves for three days only. A part of them fled in their ships down the river, and the rest, who did not perish by the sword, have fallen into the nawab's hands, and are bound in irons. Such now is the condition of that beautiful place, whose blooming and flourishing state caused every one to admire it, and from which the English company drew a great and princely income. The fort and all the other costly buildings have been pulled down, the shops erected before this disaster have been plundered, and the timber wharfs destroyed, the place renamed Alinagar, and put under the government of a *Faujdar*. The officers of the up-country factories are also prisoners in consequence of the self-willed behavior which is peculiar to this [English] nation.

The Dutch buy off Surajah Dowlah

Had it even remained at this, which was bad enough God knows, we should have had to share in the trouble which the above-mentioned nation had drawn upon its own head, since, having been repeatedly written to by Surajah Dowlah for

assistance in soldiers, ammunition, and boats, he, on our absolute refusal, immediately after the taking of Calcutta, surrounded us with an immensely superior force, and demanded a contribution of 20 *laks* or 2,000,000 rupees, a claim which we could not satisfy, and would sooner have trusted ourselves to die fighting. In the meantime Heaven showed us a way out of the difficulty, so that we, by the expenditure of certain money, brought influence to bear upon that mad prince, so as to incline him in our favor. By this means we obtained a reduction to one fifth of the whole, or four *laks* of rupees.

Having gained ground thus far, we imagined that some more might be abated, or that in the matter of the gratuity, which one is ordinarily obliged to pay to all new viceroys, we might get off with about half a *lak* instead of one or two *laks;* but the prince, seeing our secret joy and flattering himself that he had a right to chastise us, commanded the people with him to forcibly take away our artillery and trample our flag under foot.

Now there was no further time for delay; we had either to pay or take the consequences. On the one hand it was hard that the Company should have to pay such an immense sum of money, which, including that spent upon the cost of intercession and some bribes spent upon persuading the nawab and his army to retire from Calcutta, was to be estimated at 400,000 rupees, and on the other hand there was no chance in the world to hold out against the immense force of the nawab, who was provided with a considerable force of artillery and a good European constabulary, nor was it possible in the present difficulty to flee on our ships. . . . Although, by God's blessing, our unpardonable stupidity might possibly have been made good, still it appeared an inconsiderate bravery to risk our lives, our liberty, the reputation of our nationality and our colony, by holding out for a day or two, or possibly less, considering the weakness of our fort and the bad condition of our artillery as compared with that of the English. Consequently, *nolens volens* we decided to concede the demands of the nawab. . . .

The French have had to pay a contribution proportionate to ours, to the amount of 3 *laks* of rupees besides another half *lak* for mediation money. One does not yet know whether the

other nations will get out of this difficulty now without tearing their clothes, but it is known that the Empdeners had about two and a half *laks* of rupees outstanding amongst the English, and that to all appearances they will never see a doit of this money again, so that this Company may very possibly be ruined, especially if any disasters take place, such as, alas ! are hitting our Company more than too frequently, seeing that in the beginning of this month the ship *Voorburg*, whilst sailing up the Ganges, got aground on the shallow of the so-called Jannegat (John's or Jack's Hole) and was lost with all its cargo except the silver, which according to custom had been carried in the sloop. Possibly we might have been able to save a considerable quantity of the cargo if we had been able to get there in time, but we could do nothing towards this, owing to the passage being closed by the departure of the nawab three days ago.

The French forced to contribute to Surajah Dowlah

The English as well as the nawab have sought our alliance, and on our persevering in an absolute neutrality, the English Council has protested against us in the name of his Britannic Majesty, as your Excellencies will come to see by the letters to be dispatched by the first ship next September. . . .

The hasty actions of Surajah Dowlah, described in the above report, culminated in the imprisonment of a large number of English residents in a room so small that many of them perished during the night. An account of this episode of the "Black Hole" of Calcutta is given by an officer who was at the time in the service of the East India Service.

54. The "Black Hole" of Calcutta (June 20, 1756)

The principal officer [of the nawab] commanded the prisoners to go into one of the rooms which stood behind them along the veranda. This was the common dungeon of the garrison, who used to call it the "Black Hole." Many of the prisoners, knowing the place, began to expostulate; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated, on which the prisoners obeyed. But before all were within, the room was so thronged that the last entered with

difficulty. The guard immediately closed and locked the door, confining one hundred and forty-six persons in a room not twenty feet square, with only two small windows, and these obstructed by the veranda.

It was the hottest season of the year, and the night uncommonly sultry even at this season. The excessive pressure of their bodies against one another and the intolerable heat which prevailed as soon as the door was shut, convinced the prisoners that it was impossible to live through the night in this horrible confinement; and violent attempts were immediately made to force the door, but without effect, for it opened inward; on which many began to give a loose to rage. . . .

The first effect of their confinement was a profuse and continued sweat, which soon produced intolerable thirst, succeeded by excruciating pains in the breast, with difficulty of breathing little short of suffocation. Various means were tried to obtain more room and more air. Every one stripped off his clothes; every hat was put in motion; and these methods affording no relief, it was proposed that they should all sit down on their hams at the same time, and after remaining a little while in this posture rise all together. This fatal expedient was thrice repeated before they had been confined an hour; and every time several, unable to rear themselves up again, fell and were trampled to death by their companions.

Attempts were again made to force the door, which, failing as before, redoubled their rage; but the thirst increasing, nothing but "Water! water!" became soon after the general cry. The good *jemautdar* immediately ordered some skins of water to be brought to the windows; but instead of relief, his benevolence became a more dreadful cause of destruction; for the sight of the water threw every one into such excessive agitations and ravings that, unable to resist this violent impulse of nature, none could wait to be regularly served, but each with the utmost ferocity battled against those who were likely to get it before him; and in these conflicts many were either pressed to death by the efforts of others or suffocated by their own. . . .

Before midnight all who were alive and had not partaken of the air at the windows were either in a lethargic stupefaction

or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered in hopes of provoking the guard to put an end to their miseries by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some were blaspheming the Creator with the frantic execrations of torment and despair, Heaven was implored by others with wild and incoherent prayers; until the weaker, exhausted by these agitations, at length laid down quietly and expired on the bodies of their dead or agonizing friends. . . . At two o'clock not more than fifty remained alive. But even this number were too many to partake of the saving air, the contest for which and for life continued until the morn, long implored, began to break. . . .

An officer, sent by the nawab, came and inquired if the English chief still survived; and soon after the same man returned with an order to open the prison. The dead were so thronged, and the survivors had so little strength remaining, that they were employed near half an hour in removing the bodies which lay against the door before they could clear a passage to go out one at a time; when of one hundred and forty-six who went in no more than twenty-three came out alive, — the ghastliest forms that were ever seen alive.

On the overthrow of Surajah Dowlah in the famous battle of Plassey, the English set up an adventurer by the name of Meer Jafir as nawab of Bengal, and a short time afterward extracted from him the following treaty, practically recognizing English dominion in that province.

55. Treaty concluded by the English with Surajah Dowlah's successor

First, Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nawab Surajah Dowlah, I agree to comply with.

Second, The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

Exclusion of the French in favor of the English

Third, All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, shall remain in possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

Fourth, In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the plunder and capture of Calcutta by

the Nawab, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their officers, I will give them a crore of rupees.

Fifth, For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty laks of rupees.

[In articles 6–9, here omitted, Meer Jafir promised further indemnities and recognized an extension of British control in and around Calcutta.]

Tenth, Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

Eleventh, I will not erect any new fortifications below Hoogly near the river Ganges.

Twelfth, As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated 15th Ramezan, in the fourth year of the king's reign.

Some time after their success in Bengal, the English instituted the new office of governor general, which was held by Warren Hastings from 1774 to 1785. During his administration Hastings was continually involved in conflicts with the natives and did many things which seemed reprehensible to Englishmen at home. Accordingly he was tried by Parliament and the charges against him were presented by Edmund Burke in a long and overwrought speech from which the following extract is taken.[1]

56. Edmund Burke's summary of the case against Warren Hastings

With very few intermissions, the affairs of India have constantly engaged the attention of the Commons for more than fourteen years. We may safely affirm, we have tried every mode of legislative provision, before we had recourse to anything of penal process. It was in the year 1774 we framed an act of Parliament for remedy to the then existing disorders in India, such as the then information before us enabled us to enact. Finding that the act of Parliament did not answer all the ends

[1] See *Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, p. 99 and note 1.

that were expected from it, we had, in the year 1782, recourse to a body of monitory resolutions. Neither had we the expected fruit from them.

English agents in India defy Parliament

When, therefore, we found that our inquiries and our reports, our laws and our admonitions, were alike despised; that enormities increased in proportion as they were forbidden, detected, and exposed; when we found that guilt stalked with an erect and upright front, and that legal authority seemed to skulk and hide its head like outlawed guilt; when we found that some of those very persons, who were appointed by Parliament to assert the authority of the laws of this kingdom, were the most forward, the most bold, and the most active in the conspiracy for their destruction; then it was time for the justice of the nation to recollect itself. . . .

We found it was impossible to evade painful duty without betraying a sacred trust. Having, therefore, resolved upon the last and only resource, a penal prosecution, it was our next business to act in a manner worthy of our long deliberation. . . .

First, to speak of the process: we are to inform your lordships, that, besides that long previous deliberation of fourteen years, we examined, as a preliminary to this proceeding, every circumstance which could prove favorable to parties apparently delinquent, before we finally resolved to prosecute. There was no precedent to be found, in the journals, favorable to persons in Mr. Hastings's circumstances, that was not applied to. . . .

Burke charges Hastings with avarice, treachery, blackness of heart, and total depravity

As to the crime, which we chose, we first considered well what it was in its nature, under all the circumstances which attended it. We weighed it with all its extenuations, and with all its aggravations. On that review we are warranted to assert that the crimes, with which we charge the prisoner at the bar, are substantial crimes; that they are no errors or mistakes, such as wise and good men might possibly fall into; which may even produce very pernicious effects, without being in fact great offenses. . . . We know, as we are to be served by men, that the persons, who serve us, must be tried as men, and with a very large allowance indeed to human infirmity and human error. This my lords, we knew, and we weighed before we came before you. But the crimes, which we charge in these

articles, are not lapses, defects, errors, of common human frailty, which, as we know and feel, we can allow for. We charge this offender with no crimes that have not arisen from passions which it is criminal to harbor; with no offenses that have not their root in avarice, rapacity, pride, insolence, ferocity, treachery, cruelty, malignity of temper; in short, in nothing, that does not argue a total extinction of all moral principle; that does not manifest an inveterate blackness of heart, dyed in grain with malice, vitiated, corrupted, gangrened to the very core.

Hastings a willful criminal

If we do not plant his crimes in those vices which the breast of man is made to abhor, and the spirit of all laws, human and divine, to interdict, we desire no longer to be heard upon this occasion. Let everything that can be pleaded on the ground of surprise or error, upon those grounds be pleaded with success: we give up the whole of those predicaments. We urge no crimes that were not crimes of forethought. We charge him with nothing that he did not commit upon deliberation; that he did not commit against advice, supplication, and remonstrance; that he did not commit against the direct command of lawful authority; that he did not commit after reproof and reprimand, the reproof and reprimand of those who are authorized by the laws to reprove and reprimand him. The crimes of Mr. Hastings are crimes, not only in themselves, but aggravated by being crimes of contumacy. They were crimes, not against forms, but against those eternal laws of justice, which are our rule and our birthright. His offenses are not, in formal, technical language, but in reality, in substance and effect, high crimes and high misdemeanors.

Hastings the captain general of iniquity

So far as to the crimes. As to the criminal, we have chosen him on the same principle, on which we selected the crimes. We have not chosen to bring before you a poor, puny, trembling delinquent, misled, perhaps, by those who ought to have taught him better, but who have afterwards oppressed him by their power, as they had first corrupted him by their example. . . . We have brought before you the first man of India in rank, authority, and station. We have brought before you the chief of the tribe, the head of the whole body of Eastern offenders;

a captain general of iniquity, under whom all the fraud, all the peculation, all the tyranny, in India, are embodied, disciplined, arrayed, and paid. This is the person, my lords, that we bring before you. We have brought before you such a person, that, if you strike at him with the firm and decided arm of justice, you will not have need of a great many more examples. You strike at the whole corps, if you strike at the head. . . .

CHAPTER VII

THE RIVALRY OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN NORTH AMERICA

Section 19. How the European Nations established themselves in the New World

A Jesuit missionary, Father Christian Le Clercq, gives a sad picture of the condition to which New France was reduced in 1663 on account of the indifference of the Company to which the French king had granted the region. At that date, under the influence of Colbert, the French government began to take active measures to protect the colonists and restore prosperity.

57. How Colbert came to the aid of the French settlers in Canada

The Church of New France, far from making any progress, could not have subsisted long unless a more powerful arm than that of the gentlemen of the Company had come to her assistance in the extremity to which Canada was reduced in 1663.

The Iroquois, after having defeated and almost entirely destroyed our allies, desolated our habitations. The people were not in security even at Quebec, being unable to resist the enemy, who threatened us with total destruction. . . . The colony, far from increasing, began to diminish. Some returned to France, others were taken and killed by the Indians. Many died of misery; the clearing and cultivation of lands advanced but little, as the colonists were obliged to await all from France. . . .

Hitherto the king reserved only the sovereign authority, having yielded the domain, ownership, and commerce of New France to the gentlemen of the Company, on condition that they should pay all charges. These gentlemen had doubtless good intentions, and we knew that most had joined only from

a zeal for religion. They had made great efforts in the first years, but, being finally weary of so many useless outlays, which produced no return, they had for the last years abandoned the commerce to the inhabitants of the country under certain conditions. . . .

Louis XIV assumes direct responsibility for the administration of Canada

Worthy object of the piety of the king (Louis XIV)! — who, after having given peace to Europe by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, reëstablished order and felicity in the kingdom, begun to destroy heresy, which is now entirely annihilated, obtained from God a successor to the crown in the person of the Dauphin, wished to turn his zeal towards New France, which accordingly his Majesty (a true father and savior of Canada) united to his domain, assuming the debts of the country, undertaking to provide all the expenses of the Church, justice, and war, and establishing a company for the sole direction of commerce in a single hand, which has since been so advantageous to the inhabitants. This great prince, as a principle of religion, reserved to himself and his council every care, more with a view of forming a Christian empire than of extending the limits of a temporal kingdom. Of all the effects of protection which his bounty occasioned during the present epoch, the most advantageous was the powerful assistance he sent, namely, intelligent and enlightened ministers and officers capable of giving a form to this rising country, with considerable sums drawn from his treasury, and sparing nothing to establish this colony. He sent also experienced troops to repel the enemy and sustain the inhabitants. . . .

Whilst God gave these blessings to the arms of the king, the intendant gave his attention to the establishment and general good of the country, which soon changed its appearance by the wisdom of so penetrating, so experienced a minister, so zealous for the service of God and the king, as Monsieur Talon has always been, as were, too, his brothers in the intendancies and other employments of distinction.

The colony, which was as yet only a handful of settlers scattered here and there in different cantons, was notably increased by the number of officers and soldiers who chose to settle when the troops were disbanded, and who formed more than three

hundred new families. . . . The young women sent over in great numbers by the king in the following years found regular settlements, and were advantageously married according to their rank. . . .

The intendant endeavored to give a form of administration everywhere similar to that in France, establishing the manufacture of linen, leather, shoes, hats, lace, etc. Potash works and breweries, public edifices in many parts of the country were the result of his attention, as well as the construction of ships and barks; the reëstablishment of treaties with Indian tribes, free trade for the colonists, the regulation and perfect order of the royal income attracted merchants from France.

With Canada as a basis, the French explorers penetrated the interior in every direction, and in 1673 Father Marquette pressed on to the Mississippi, down which he made a long journey. Fortunately he has left an account of this famous expedition.

58. How Marquette descended the Mississippi River in 1673

The feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin — whom I have always invoked since I have been in this country of the Outaouacs to obtain from God the grace of being able to visit the nations who dwell along the Mississippi River — was precisely the day on which Monsieur Joliet arrived with orders to accomplish this discovery with me. . . . We were not long in preparing all our equipment, although we were about to begin a voyage the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some smoked meat, constituted all our provisions. With these we embarked — Monsieur Joliet and myself with five men — in two bark canoes, fully resolved to do and suffer everything for so glorious an undertaking.

Accordingly, on the seventeenth day of May, 1673, we started from the mission of St. Ignace at Michilimakinac, where I then was. The joy that we felt at being selected for this expedition animated our courage and rendered the labor of paddling from morning to night agreeable to us. . . .

With all these precautions, we joyfully plied our paddles on a portion of Lake Huron and on that of the Illinois [i.e. Lake

Michigan] and on the Bay des Puants [i.e. Green Bay]. The first nation that we came to was that of the "Wild Oats." I entered their river to go and visit these peoples, to whom we have preached the gospel for several years, — in consequence of which there are several good Christians among them. . . . We left this bay to enter the river that discharges into it and continued to advance toward the Maskoutens, where we arrived on the 7th of June.

This word may, in Algonquin, mean the "Fire Nation," — which, indeed, is the name given to this tribe. Here is the limit of the discoveries which the French have made, for they have not yet gone any farther. . . . I was greatly consoled at seeing a handsome cross erected in the middle of the village and adorned with many white skins, red belts, bows and arrows, which these good people had offered to the great Manitou (this is the name which they give to God). They did this to thank him for having pity on them during the winter by giving them an abundance of game when they most dreaded famine. . . . On the following day, the 10th of June, two Miamis, who were given us as guides, embarked with us in the sight of a great crowd, who could not sufficiently express their astonishment at the sight of seven Frenchmen alone in two canoes daring to undertake so extraordinary and so hazardous an expedition.

They leave Green Bay for the Wisconsin River

We knew that at three leagues from Maskoutens was a river which discharged into the Mississippi. We knew also that the direction we were to follow in order to reach it was west-south-westerly. But the road is broken by so many swamps and small lakes that it is easy to lose one's way, especially as the river leading thither is so full of wild oats that it is difficult to find the channel. For this reason we greatly needed our two guides, who safely conducted us to a portage of twenty-seven hundred paces and helped us to transport our canoes to enter that river. After which they returned home, leaving us alone in this unknown country in the hands of Providence. Thus we left the waters flowing to Quebec, four hundred or five hundred leagues from here, to float on those that would henceforth take us through strange lands. . . .

They reach the Mississippi

The river on which we embarked is called the Meskousing [i.e. Wisconsin]. . . . After proceeding forty leagues on this same route we arrived at the mouth of our river, and at 42½ degrees of latitude we safely entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June with a joy that I cannot express.

Here we are, then, on this renowned river, all of whose peculiar features I have endeavored to note carefully. The Mississippi River takes its rise in various lakes in the country of the northern nations. . . . We gently followed its course, which runs toward the south and southeast, as far as the 42d degree of latitude. . . . From time to time we came upon monstrous fish, one of which struck our canoe with such violence that I thought that it was a great tree about to break the canoe in pieces. On another occasion we saw on the water a monster with the head of a tiger, a sharp nose like that of a wildcat, with whiskers and straight, erect ears. The head was gray and the neck quite black. But we saw no more creatures of this sort. . . . When we reached the parallel of 41 degrees 28 minutes, following the same direction, we found that turkeys had taken the place of game and the pisikious or wild cattle [i.e. buffaloes] that of the other animals.

We call them "wild cattle" because they are very similar to our domestic cattle. They are not longer, but are nearly as large again and more corpulent. When our people killed one, three persons had much difficulty in moving it. . . . Their heavy coat falls off in summer and the skin becomes as soft as velvet. At that season the savages use the hides for making fine robes, which they paint in various colors. . . .

Marquette visits the Illinois

Finally, on the 25th of June, we perceived on the water's edge soft tracks of men and a narrow and somewhat beaten path leading to a fine prairie. We stopped to examine it, and thinking that it was a road which led to some village of savages, we resolved to go and reconnoiter it. We therefore left our two canoes under the guard of our people, strictly charging them not to allow themselves to be surprised, after which Monsieur Joliet and I undertook this investigation, — a rather hazardous one for two men who exposed themselves alone to the mercy of a barbarous and unknown people. [The savages

received us kindly, having probably recognized us as Frenchmen, especially when they saw our black gowns.] I spoke to them and asked them who they were. They replied that they were Illinois, and as a token of peace they offered us their pipes to smoke. They afterward invited us to enter their village, where all the people impatiently awaited us. These pipes for smoking are called in this country "calumets." This word has come so much into use that in order to be understood I shall be obliged to use it, as I shall often have to mention these pipes. . . .

When one speaks the word "Illinois," it is as if one said in their language "the men," — as if the other savages were looked upon by them merely as animals. It must also be admitted that they have an air of humanity which we have not observed in the other nations that we have seen upon our route. . . . We take leave of our Illinois at the end of June about three o'clock in the afternoon. We embark in the sight of all the people, who admire our little canoes, for they have never seen any like them. . . .

Strange pictures on the rocks near Alton

While skirting some rocks which by their height and length inspired awe, we saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made us afraid, and upon which the boldest savages dare not long rest their eyes. They are as large as a calf; they have horns on their heads like those of deer, a horrible look, red eyes, a beard like a tiger's, a face somewhat like a man's, a body covered with scales. . . .

They reach the mouth of the Missouri

While we were conversing about these monsters, sailing quietly in clear and calm water, we heard the noise of a rapid into which we were about to run. I have seen nothing more dreadful. An accumulation of large and entire trees, branches, and floating islands was issuing from the mouth of the river Pekitanoui [i.e. Missouri] with such impetuosity that we could not without great danger risk passing through it. So great was the agitation that the water was very muddy and could not become clear. The Pekitanoui is a river of considerable size coming from the northwest, from a great distance, and it discharges into the Mississippi. There are many villages of savages along this river, and I hope by its means to discover the Vermilion or California Sea. . . .

(Condensed)

After escaping as best we could the dangerous rapid we proceeded south. After a long journey we reached the large village of Akamsea [Arkansas]. In the evening the elders held a secret council in regard to the design entertained by some to break our heads and rob us; but the chief put a stop to all these plots. After sending for us he danced the calumet before us as a token of our entire safety, and to relieve us of all fear he made me a present of it.

Reasons for discontinuing the descent of the Mississippi

Monsieur Joliet and I held another council to deliberate upon what we should do, — whether we should push on, or remain content with the discovery which we had made. After attentively considering that we were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is at the latitude of 31 degrees and 60 minutes, while we were at 33 degrees 40 minutes we judged that we could not be more than two or three days' journey from it, and that beyond a doubt the Mississippi River discharges into the Florida or Mexican gulf, and not to the east in Virginia, whose seacoast is at 34 degrees of latitude, — which we had passed without, however, having as yet reached the sea, — or to the west in California, because in that case our route would have been to the west or the west-southwest, whereas we had always continued it toward the south. We further considered that we exposed ourselves to the risk of losing the results of this voyage, of which we could give no information if we proceeded to fling ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards, who, without doubt, would at least have detained us as captives. Moreover, we saw very plainly that we were not in a condition to resist savages allied to the Europeans, who were numerous and expert in firing guns, and who continually infested the lower part of the river. Finally, we had obtained all the information that could be desired in regard to this discovery. All these reasons induced us to decide upon returning; this we announced to the savages, and after a day's rest made our preparations for it. . . .

We therefore reascend the Mississippi, which gives us much trouble in breasting its currents. . . . It is true that we leave it at about the 38th degree, which greatly shortens our road and takes us with but little effort to the lake of the Illinois. . . .

One of the chiefs of this nation, with his young men, escorted us to the lake of the Illinois, whence at last, at the end of September, we reached the Bay des Puants, from which we had started the beginning of June.

The arrival (in 1607) of the settlers who were to plant the colony of Virginia is described by Captain John Smith.

59. Captain John Smith's description of the landing in Virginia (1607)

You shall understand that after many crosses in the downs by tempests we arrived safely upon the southwest part of the great Canaries. Within four or five days after, we set sail for Dominica, the 26th of April. The first land we made, we fell with Cape Henry, the very mouth of the Bay of Chissiapiacke, which at that present we little expected, having by a cruel storm been put to the northward. Anchoring in this bay, twenty or thirty went ashore with the captain, and in coming aboard, they were assaulted with certain Indians, which charged them within pistol shot: in which conflict, Captain Archer and Mathew Morton were shot: whereupon Captain Newport, seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but having spent their arrows retired without harm.

The government is set up

And in that place was the box opened, wherein the Council for Virginia was nominated: and arriving at the place where we are now seated, the council was sworn, and the president elected, which for that year was Maister Edm. Maria Wingfield, where was made choice for our situation, a very fit place for the erecting of a great city, about which some contention passed betwixt Captain Wingfield and Captain Gosnold, notwithstanding all our provision was brought ashore, and with as much speed as might be we went about our fortification.

Smith and some companions explore inland

The two and twenty day of April, Captain Newport and myself with divers others, to the number of twenty-two persons, set forward to discover the river, some fifty or sixty miles, finding it in some places broader, and in some narrower, the country (for the most part) on each side plain high ground, with many fresh springs, the people in places kindly entreating

us, dancing, and feasting us with strawberries, mulberries, bread, fish, and other their country provisions whereof we had plenty: for which Captain Newport kindly requited their least favors with bells, pins, needles, beads, or glasses, which so contented them that his liberality made them follow us from place to place, and ever kindly to respect us.

They visit the "emperor" of Powhatan

In the midway, staying to refresh ourselves in a little isle, four or five savages came unto us, which described unto us the course of the river, and after in our journey they often met us, trading with us for such provision as we had; and arriving at Arsatecke, he whom we supposed to be the chief king of all the rest, most kindly entertained us, giving us in a guide to go with us up the river to Powhatan, of which place their great emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for king used us kindly. But to finish this discovery, we passed on further, where within an isle we were intercepted with great craggy stones in the midst of the river, where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly pass, and so broad disperseth the stream, as there is not past five or six foot at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth four foot, and the freshes by reason of the rocks have left marks of the inundations 8 or 9 foot. The south side is plain low ground, and the north side high mountains, the rocks being of a gravelly nature, interlaced with many veins of glistering spangles.

That night we returned to Powhatan: the next day (being Whitsunday, after dinner) we returned to the falls, leaving a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs; he that they honored for king followed us by the river. That afternoon we trifled in looking upon the rocks and river (further he would not go), so there we erected a cross, and that night taking our man at Powhatans, Captain Newport congratulated his kindness with a gown and a hatchet: returning to Arsetecke, and stayed there the next day to observe the height thereof, and so with many signs of love we departed.

The story of the landing of the Pilgrims is told by William Bradford, one of the original band, in his

History of the Plymouth Plantation, from which the following is taken:

60. Landing at Plymouth (1620) (Bradford)

But to omite other things, (that I may be breefe,) after longe beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made & certainly knowne to be it, they were not a little joyfull. After some deliberation had amongst them selves & with y^e^ m^r^. of y^e^ ship, they tacked aboute and resolved to stande for y^e^ southward (y^e^ wind & weather being faire) to finde some place aboute Hudsons river for their habitation. But after they had sailed yt course aboute halfe y^e^ day, they fell amongst deangerous shoulds and roring breakers, and they were so farr intangled ther with as they conceived them selves in great danger; & y^e^ wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them selves hapy to gett out of those dangers before night overtooke them, as by Gods providence they did. And y^e^ next day they gott into y^e^ Cape-harbor wher they ridd in saftie. A word or too by y^e^ way of this cape; it was thus first named by Capten Gosnole & his company, An^o^: 1602, and after by Capten Smith was caled Cape James; but it retains y^e^ former name amongst seamen. Also y^e^ pointe which first shewed those dangerous shoulds unto them, they called Pointe Care, & Tuckers Terrour; but y^e^ French & Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoulds, and y^e^ losses they have suffered their.

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed y^e^ God of heaven, who had brought them over y^e^ vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all y^e^ periles & miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on y^e^ firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on y^e^ coast of his owne Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious & dreadfull was y^e^ same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I

The hardships endured by the Pilgrims

thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembred by yt which wente before), they had now no friends to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to ye apostle & his ship-wraked company, yt the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sids full of arrows then otherwise. And for ye season it was winter, and they that know ye winters of yt countrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts & willd men? and what multituds ther might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, goe up to ye tope of Pisgah, to vew from this willdernes a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to ye heavens) they could have little solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sumer being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and ye whole countrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was ye mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to seperate them from all ye civill parts of ye world. . . .

What could now sustaine them but ye spirite of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this willdernes; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, &c. Let them therfore praise ye Lord, because he is good, & his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of ye Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from ye hand of ye oppressour. When they wandered in ye deserte willdernes out of ye way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie, & thirstie, their sowle was*

overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before y^e^ Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderfull works before y^e^ sons of men.

Here follows William Penn's letter to Robert Turner concerning the grant of the province of Pennsylvania from Charles II (1681).

Dear Friend:

61. How Penn received his grant from King Charles II (1681)

My true love in the Lord salutes thee and dear Friends that love the Lord's precious Truth in those parts. Thine I have; and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania; a name the king would give it in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country; but Penn being Welsh for a head, as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, [the king] called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodlands; for I proposed, when the secretary, a Welshman, refused to have it New Wales, Sylvania, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out and altered, he said it was past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the undersecretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayest communicate my grant to Friends, and expect shortly my proposals.

It is a clear and just thing, and my God that has given it me through many difficulties will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first. No more now, but dear love in the Truth.

Thy true Friend,

William Penn

Section 20. Struggle between France and England for North America

A Frenchman, whose name is not known, gives us a good brief account of General Braddock's defeat (1755).

62. A Frenchman's account of Braddock's defeat

M. de Contrecœur, Captain of Infantry, Commandant of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, having been informed that the English were taking up arms in Virginia for the purpose of coming to attack him, was advised, shortly afterwards, that they were on the march. He dispatched scouts, who reported to him faithfully their progress. On the 17th instant he was advised that their army, consisting of 3000 regulars from Old England, were within six leagues of this fort. That officer employed the next day in making his arrangements; and on the ninth detached M. de Beaujeu, seconded by Messrs. Dumas and de Lignery, all three Captains, together with four Lieutenants, 6 Ensigns, 20 Cadets, 100 Soldiers, 100 Canadians, and 600 Indians, with orders to lie in ambush at a favorable spot, which he had reconnoitered the previous evening.

The detachment, before it could reach its place of destination, found itself in presence of the enemy within three leagues of that fort. M. de Beaujeu, finding his ambush had failed, decided on an attack. This he made with so much vigor as to astonish the enemy, who were waiting for us in the best possible order; but their artillery, loaded with grape, having opened its fire, our men gave way in turn. The Indians, also, frightened by the report of the cannon rather than by any damage it could inflict, began to yield, when M. de Beaujeu was killed. M. Dumas began to encourage his detachment. He ordered the officers in command of the Indians to spread themselves along the wings so as to take the enemy in flank, whilst he, M. de Lignery, and the other officers who led the French were attacking them in front. This order was executed so promptly that the enemy, who were already shouting their "Long live the King," thought now only of defending themselves.

The fight was obstinate on both sides and success long doubtful; but the enemy at last gave way. Efforts were made, in vain, to introduce some sort of order in their retreat. The whoop of the Indians, which echoed through the forest, struck terror into the hearts of the entire enemy. The rout was complete. We remained in possession of the field with six brass twelves and sixes, four howitz-carriages of 50, 11 small royal grenade mortars, all their ammunition, and, generally, their entire baggage. . . .

The enemy have left more than 1000 men on the field of battle. They have lost a great portion of the artillery, ammunition and provisions, as also their General, whose name was Mr. Braddock, and almost all their officers. We have had 3 officers killed; 2 officers and 2 cadets wounded. Such a victory, so entirely unexpected, seeing the inequality of the forces, is the fruit of M. Dumas's experience, and of the activity and valor of the officers under his command.

General Wolfe wrote the following letter to his mother a fortnight before he was killed in his memorable attack upon the French at Quebec.

BANKS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE, 31st August, 1759

Dear Madam:

63. A letter of General Wolfe's to his mother

My writing to you will convince you that no personal evils, worse than defeats and disappointments, have fallen upon me. The enemy puts nothing to risk, and I can't, in conscience, put the whole army to risk. My antagonist has wisely shut himself up in inaccessible entrenchments, so that I can't get at him without spilling a torrent of blood, and that perhaps to little purpose. The Marquis de Montcalm is at the head of a great number of bad soldiers, and I am at the head of a small number of good ones, that wish for nothing so much as to fight him; but the wary old fellow avoids an action, doubtful of the behavior of his army. People must be of the profession to understand the disadvantages and difficulties we labor under, arising from the uncommon natural strength of the country.

I approve entirely of my father's disposition of his affairs, though it may interfere a little matter with my plan of quitting

the service, which I am determined to do the first opportunity, — I mean so as not to be absolutely distressed in circumstances, nor burdensome to you or anybody else. I wish you much health, and am, dear Madam,

Your obedient and affectionate Son,

JAM. WOLFE

Captain John Knox, in a letter written immediately after the English victory at Quebec, gave an account of the battle and the death of Wolfe and Montcalm. After describing the landing of sixteen hundred English troops at the foot of the heights upon which the town is situated, he continues:

64. The battle of Quebec (September 13, 1759)

We lost no time here, but clambered up one of the steepest precipices that can be conceived, being almost a perpendicular, and of an incredible height. As soon as we gained the summit, all was quiet, and not a shot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel Howe; it was by this time clear daylight. Here we formed again, the river and the south country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery, and halted a few minutes. The General then detached the light troops to our left to rout the enemy from their battery, and to disable their guns, except they could be rendered serviceable to the party who were to remain there; and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched towards the town by files, till we came to the plains of Abraham, — an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery: about six o'clock the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights, between us and the town; whereupon we halted, and wheeled to the right, thereby forming the line of battle. . . . The enemy had now likewise formed the line of battle, and got some cannon to play on us, with round and canister shot; but what galled us most was a body of Indians and other marksmen they had concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that stood opposite to our center, inclining towards our left;

but the Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton's orders, advanced some platoons, alternately, from the forty-seventh regiment, which, after a few rounds, obliged these skulkers to retire; we were now ordered to lie down, and remained some time in this position. About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third towards our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty yards, until they came within forty yards; which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire, and paying the strictest obedience to their officers: this uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our fieldpieces made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, such as they could no longer oppose; hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, so that, by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished, our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town. . . .

Wolfe receives a mortal wound

A body of the enemy made a stand, as if willing to renew the action; but a few platoons from these corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier Townshend came up, called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to dress, and recover their former ground. Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of, — General James Wolfe, who received his mortal wound as he was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisburg. . . .

The death of Montcalm

. . . The Sieur de Montcalm died late last night; when his wound was dressed, and he settled in bed, the surgeons who attended him were desired to acquaint him ingenuously with their sentiments of him, and, being answered that his wound was mortal, he calmly replied that he was glad of it: his Excellency then demanded, whether he could survive it long, and how long. He was told, "about a dozen hours, perhaps more, peradventure less." "So much the better," rejoined this

eminent warrior: "I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." . . .

Wolfe dies after learning of his victory

After our late worthy General, of renowned memory, was carried off wounded, to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down; being asked if he would have a surgeon, he replied, "It is needless; it is all over with me." One of them cried out, "They run! see how they run!" "Who runs?" demanded our hero, with great earnestness, like a person roused from sleep. The officer answered, "The enemy, Sir; Egad! they give way everywhere." Whereupon the General rejoined, "Go one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles's river, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." Then, turning on his side, he added, "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace"; and thus expired.

Section 21. Revolt of the American Colonies from England

John Andrews, Esq., of Boston, writes to a friend about the Boston Tea Party, which occurred the evening before last:

December 18th [1773]

65. John Andrews on the Boston Tea Party

However precarious our situation may be, yet such is the present calm composure of the people that a stranger would hardly think that ten thousand pounds sterling of the East India Company's tea was destroyed the night, or rather evening, before last, yet it's a serious truth; and if yours, together with the other Southern provinces, should rest satisfied with their quota being stored, poor Boston will feel the whole weight of ministerial vengeance. However, it 's the opinion of most people that we stand an equal chance now, whether troops are sent in consequence of it or not; whereas, had it been stored, we should inevitably have had them, to enforce the sale of it.

The attempt to send the tea ships away fails

The affair was transacted with the greatest regularity and despatch. . . . A general muster was assembled, from this and all the neighboring towns, to the number of five or six thousand, at 10 o'clock Thursday morning in the Old South

Meeting House, where they passed a unanimous vote that the *Tea* should go out of the harbor that afternoon, and sent a committee with Mr. Rotch[1] to the Customhouse to demand a clearance, which the collector told them it was not in his power to give, without the duties being first paid. They then sent Mr. Rotch to Milton, to ask a pass from the Governor, who sent for answer, that "consistent with the rules of government and his duty to the King he could not grant one without they produced a previous clearance from the office." By the time he returned with this message the candles were light in the house, and upon reading it, such prodigious shouts were made, that induced me, while drinking tea at home, to go out and know the cause of it. The house was so crowded I could get no farther than the porch, when I found the moderator was just declaring the meeting to be dissolved, which caused another general shout, out doors and in, and three cheers. What with that, and the consequent noise of breaking up the meeting, you 'd thought that the inhabitants of the infernal regions had broke loose.

The "Tea Party" is mustered

For my part, I went contentedly home and finished my tea, but was soon informed what was going forward; but still not crediting it without ocular demonstration, I went and was satisfied. They mustered, I 'm told, upon Fort Hill to the number of about two hundred, and proceeded, two by two, to Griffin's wharf, where *Hall*, *Bruce*, and *Coffin* lay, each with 114 chests of the ill-fated article on board; the two former with only that article, but the latter, arrived at the wharf only the day before, was freighted with a large quantity of other goods, which they took the greatest care not to injure in the least, and before nine o'clock in the evening every chest from on board the three vessels was knocked to pieces and flung over the sides.

The rioters disguised as Indians

They say the actors were Indians from Narragansett. Whether they were or not, to a transient observer they appeared as such, being clothed in blankets with the heads muffled, and copper-colored countenances, being each armed with a hatchet or ax, and pair pistols, nor was their dialect different from what I conceive these geniuses to speak, as their jargon was

[1] Owner of one of the tea ships.

unintelligible to all but themselves. Nor the least insult was offered to any person, save one Captain Connor, a letter of horses in this place, not many years since removed from dear Ireland, who had ript up the lining of his coat and waistcoat under the arms, and watching his opportunity had nearly filled them with tea, but being detected, was handled pretty roughly. They not only stripped him of his clothes, but gave him a coat of mud, with a severe bruising into the bargain; and nothing but their utter aversion to make any disturbance prevented his being tarred and feathered.

Should not have troubled you with this, by this post, hadn't I thought you would be glad of a more particular account of so important a transaction than you could have obtained by common report; and if it affords my brother but a temporary amusement, I shall be more than repaid for the trouble of writing it.

The elder Pitt thus spoke in the House of Commons, January 20, 1775, on the growing difficulties between the king and his American colonies.

66. Pitt on the question of withdrawing the English troops from Boston (January, 1775)

This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen; it was obvious from the nature of things and of mankind, and, above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship money in England; the same spirit which called all England on its legs, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English constitution; the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.

This glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America, who prefer poverty with liberty to gilded chains and sordid affluence, and who will die in the defense of their rights as men, as free men. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breast of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American

numbers? Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of the colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation, but they tax themselves. And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable; it is involved in the abstract nature of things.

Trade regulation distinguished from taxation

Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration; it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow; it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of the several parts and combine them into effect for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation, for it does not exist in that relation; there is no such thing, no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property. Let this distinction then remain forever ascertained: taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours.

As an American, I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation; as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property, — a right which they are justified in the defense of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic and on this. "'T is liberty to liberty engaged," that they will defend themselves, their families, and their country. In this great cause they are immovably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature, — immovable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of heaven.

Four years later, however, George III still saw no reason for not stubbornly continuing the attempt to hold the rebellious colonies at any cost.

I should think it the greatest instance among the many I have met with of ingratitude and injustice, if it could be supposed that any man in my dominions more ardently desired

67. Letter of George III to Lord North on the necessity of subduing the American colonies (June 11, 1779)

the restoration of peace and solid happiness in every part of this empire than I do; there is no personal sacrifice I could not readily yield for so desirable an object; but at the same time no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, can incline me to enter into what I look upon as the destruction of the empire. I have heard Lord North frequently drop that the advantages to be gained by this contest could never repay the expense; I own that, let any war be ever so successful, if persons will sit down and weigh the expenses, they will find, as in the last, that it has impoverished the state, enriched individuals, and perhaps raised the name only of the conquerors. But this is only weighing such events in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter: it is necessary for those in the station it has pleased Divine Providence to place me to weigh whether expenses, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what might be more ruinous to a country than the loss of money.

The present contest with America I cannot help seeing as the most serious in which any country was ever engaged. It contains such a train of consequences that they must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving all the evils that have arisen from it, I should suppose no man could allege that, without being thought more fit for Bedlam than a seat in the senate; but step by step the demands of America have risen. Independence is their object; that certainly is one which every man, not willing to sacrifice every object to a momentary and inglorious peace, must concur with me in thinking that this country can never submit to.

Dire consequences liable to follow American independence

Should America succeed in that, the West Indies must follow them, — not independence, but must for its own interest be dependent upon North America. Ireland would soon follow the same plan and be a separate state; then this island would be reduced to itself, and soon would be a poor island indeed, for, reduced in her trade, merchants would retire with their wealth to climates more to their advantage, and shoals of manufacturers would leave this country for the new empire.

These self-evident consequences are not worse than what can arise should the Almighty permit every event to turn out to our disadvantage ; consequently this country has but one sensible, one great line to follow, — the being ever ready to make peace when to be obtained without submitting to terms that in their consequence must annihilate this empire, and with firmness to make every effort to deserve success.

General Cornwallis thus narrates the circumstances of his capitulation at Yorktown in 1781.

YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA, Oct. 20, 1781

68. Cornwallis's own report of his surrender at Yorktown (1781)

I have the mortification to inform your Excellency that I have been forced to give up the posts of York and Gloucester, and to surrender the troops under my command, by capitulation, on the 19th instant, as prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France.

I never saw this post in a very favorable light, but when I found I was to be attacked in it in so unprepared a state, by so powerful an army and artillery, nothing but the hopes of relief would have induced me to attempt its defense, for I would either have endeavored to escape to New York by rapid marches from the Gloucester side, immediately on the arrival of General Washington's troops at Williamsburg, or I would, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, have attacked them in the open field, where it might have been just possible that fortune would have favored the gallantry of the handful of troops under my command ; but being assured by your Excellency's letters that every possible means would be tried by the navy and army to relieve us, I could not think myself at liberty to venture upon either of those desperate attempts ; therefore, after remaining for two days in a strong position in front of this place in hopes of being attacked, upon observing that the enemy were taking measures which could not fail of turning my left flank in a short time, and receiving on the second evening your letter of the 24th of September, informing me that the relief would sail about the 5th of October, I withdrew within the works on the night of the 29th of September, hoping

Delay in relief for Cornwallis

by the labor and firmness of the soldiers to protract the defense until you could arrive. Everything was to be expected from the spirit of the troops, but every disadvantage attended their labor, as the works were to be continued under the enemy's fire, and our stock of intrenching tools, which did not much exceed 400 when we began to work in the latter end of August, was now much diminished. . . .

Frail character of English defenses

Our works, in the meantime, were going to ruin, and not having been able to strengthen them by an abattis, nor in any other manner but by a slight fraizing, which the enemy's artillery were demolishing wherever they fired, my opinion entirely coincided with that of the engineer and principal officers of the army, that they were in many places assailable in the forenoon, and that by the continuance of the same fire for a few hours longer they would be in such a state as to render it desperate, with our numbers, to attempt to maintain them. We at that time could not fire a single gun; only one eight-inch and little more than one hundred Cohorn shells remained. A diversion by the French ships of war that lay at the mouth of York River was to be expected.

Capitulation to save wanton sacrifice of soldiers

Our numbers had been diminished by the enemy's fire, but particularly by sickness, and the strength and spirits of those in the works were much exhausted by the fatigue of constant watching and unremitting duty. Under all these circumstances, I thought it would have been wanton and inhuman to the last degree to sacrifice the lives of this small body of gallant soldiers, who had ever behaved with so much fidelity and courage, by exposing them to an assault which, from the numbers and precautions of the enemy, could not fail to succeed. I therefore proposed to capitulate; and I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency the copy of the correspondence between General Washington and me on that subject, and the terms of capitulation agreed upon. I sincerely lament that better could not be obtained, but I have neglected nothing in my power to alleviate the misfortune and distress of both officers and soldiers. The men are well clothed and provided with necessaries, and I trust will be regularly supplied by the means of the officers that are permitted to remain with them.

The treatment, in general, that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper, but the kindness and attention that has been shown to us by the French officers in particular — their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount — has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power.

A tribute to the generous French officers

CHAPTER VIII

THE OLD RÉGIME IN EUROPE

Section 22. Condition of the Country People: Serfdom

An English traveler, Arthur Young, as he was making his way across France in 1789, carefully observed the peasants with whom he often talked. He reports the following interview with a poor woman he met.

69. Arthur Young's conversation with a French peasant woman

Walking up a long hill to ease my mare, I was joined by a poor woman, who complained of the times, and that it was a sad country. Demanding her reasons, she said her husband had but a morsel of land, one cow, and a poor little horse, yet they had a franchar (forty-two pounds) of wheat and three chickens to pay as a quitrent to one seigneur; and four franchar of oats, one chicken, and one franc to pay to another, besides very heavy tailles and other taxes. She had seven children, and the cow's milk helped to make the soup. "But why, instead of a horse, do not you keep another cow?" Oh, her husband could not carry his produce so well without a horse; and asses are little used in the country. It was said, at present, that something was to be done by some great folks for such poor ones, but she did not know who nor how, but God send us better, *car les tailles et les droits nous écrasent* (for the taxes and feudal rights are crushing us).

This woman, at no great distance, might have been taken for sixty or seventy, her figure was so bent and her face so furrowed and hardened by labor, but she said she was only twenty-eight. An Englishman who has not traveled cannot imagine the figure made by infinitely the greater part of the country women in France; it speaks, at the first sight, hard and severe labor. I am inclined to think that they work

harder than the men, and this, united with the more miserable labor of bringing a new race of slaves into the world, destroys absolutely all symmetry of person and every feminine appearance.

The feudal dues formed an important and complicated branch of the law in France in the eighteenth century. Consequently treatises were drawn up to serve as guides for those lawyers who devoted themselves to this branch of their profession. The following list describes a very few of the most important of the dues which prevailed in various parts of the country.

70. A few of the most important feudal dues in France in the eighteenth century

The Cens. This was a perpetual due, paid either in money or kind, which the holders of certain lands were forced, according to feudal law, to pay the lord. The entire amount could be demanded from any one of those who held any part of the land originally subject to the cens. The due was irredeemable, that is to say, there was no possibility of commuting it or getting rid of it by any arrangement with the lord.

Lods et Ventes. It was a general rule in those parts of France where the customary law prevailed that any one holding land subject to the *cens* must, should he sell his property, pay his lord a portion of the price he received. The amount varied, but frequently was fixed at one sixth.

Terrage or Champart. This consisted of a certain portion of the produce of the land which the lord could demand from those subject to the cens. Lands subject to *terrage* could not be mortgaged without the permission of the lord.

Carpot. A fourth part of the vintage, exacted by the lords in the Bourbonnais.

Corvée. This right of the lord to require the tenants to work for him certain days in the week or put their horses and carts at his disposal had almost disappeared in France in the eighteenth century, although common in some other parts of Europe. The French government, however, required the peasants to work on the roads, and this duty was known as the *corvée.*

Banalités. Rights possessed by the lord on many manors to require those residing within the bounds of the manor to grind their flour in his mill, bake their bread in his oven, or press their grapes in his wine press and pay him well for the service.

Banvin. The right of certain lords to sell their wine a month or forty days before any one else on the manor.

Péages. According to the feudal lawyers there were originally a vast number of manorial tolls exacted upon bridges, rivers, and roads. Louis XIV did away with a great many of them, and in 1724 no less than twelve hundred more of them were suppressed.

Bacs. The right to exact dues on merchandise ferried across streams within a manor.

Droit de Leyde. A tax levied upon merchandise brought to fairs and markets.[1]

The hunting rights so irritating to the peasants are described in the following passage from Arthur Young's *Travels.* He speaks particularly of the royal hunting preserves of the king, the so-called *capitaineries.*

71. The hunting preserves in France (from Arthur Young's *Travels*)

The *capitaineries* were a dreadful scourge on all the occupiers of land. By this term is to be understood the paramountship of certain districts granted by the king to princes of the blood, by which they were put in possession of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and what is very singular, on manors granted long before to individuals; so that the erecting of a district into a *capitainerie* was an annihilation of all manorial rights to game within it. This was a trifling business in comparison to other circumstances; for in speaking of the preservation of the game in these *capitaineries* it must be observed that by game must be understood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer not confined by any

[1] This list is based upon that which de Tocqueville gives in his *Ancien Régime*, p. 452. He derived his information from two standard treatises by the feudal lawyers Fréminville and Renauldon, who wrote about the middle of the eighteenth century.

wall or pale, but wandering at pleasure over the whole country, to the destruction of crops, and to the peopling of the galleys by wretched peasants who presumed to kill them in order to save that food which was to support their helpless children.

The game in the *capitainerie* of Montceau, in four parishes only, did mischief to the amount of 184,263 livres per annum. No wonder then that we should find the people asking, "We loudly demand the destruction of all the *capitaineries* and of all the various kinds of game." And what are we to think of demanding as a favor the permission "to thresh their grain, mow their fields, and take away the stubble without regard to the partridge or other game"?[1] Now an English reader will scarcely understand without being told that there were numerous edicts for preserving the game, which prohibited weeding and hoeing lest the young partridges should be disturbed, steeping seed lest it should injure the game, . . . mowing hay, etc., before a certain time so late as to spoil many crops; and taking away the stubble which would deprive the birds of shelter.

Section 23. The Towns and the Guilds

Arthur Young, the English traveler just quoted, gives us his impressions of Paris, which he visited in 1787.

72. Condition of the streets of Paris in 1787

This great city [Paris] appears to be in many respects the most ineligible and inconvenient for the residence of a person of small fortune of any that I have seen, and vastly inferior to London. The streets are very narrow, and many of them crowded, nine tenths dirty, and all without foot pavements. Walking, which in London is so pleasant and so clean that ladies do it every day, is here a toil and a fatigue to a man, and an impossibility to a well-dressed woman. The coaches are numerous, and, what is much worse, there are an infinity

[1] These complaints are from the *cahiers*, drawn up for the Estates General in 1789. See *Development of Modern Europe* (Vol. I, p. 230) For the abolition of the hunting rights see below, p. 256.

of one-horse cabriolets, which are driven by young men of fashion and their imitators, alike fools, with such rapidity as to be real nuisances, and render the streets exceedingly dangerous, without an incessant caution. I saw a poor child run over and probably killed, and have been myself many times blackened with the mud of the kennels. This beggarly practice, of driving a one-horse booby hutch about the streets of a great capital, flows either from poverty or wretched and despicable economy; nor is it possible to speak of it with too much severity. If young noblemen at London were to drive their chaises in streets without footways, as their brethren do at Paris, they would speedily and justly get very well threshed or rolled in the kennel. This circumstance renders Paris an ineligible residence for persons, particularly families that cannot afford to keep a coach, — a convenience which is as dear as at London. The fiacres — hackney coaches — are much worse than at that city; and chairs there are none, for they would be driven down in the streets. To this circumstance also it is owing that all persons of small or moderate fortune are forced to dress in black, with black stockings.

Adam Smith, the Scotch economist, thus describes in his famous treatise, *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, the guilds and trade regulations of his day.

73. Adam Smith on the guilds of his day

In Sheffield no master cutler can have more than one apprentice at a time by a by-law of the corporation. In Norfolk and Norwich no master weaver can have more than two apprentices under pain of forfeiting five pounds a month to the king. No master hatter can have more than two apprentices anywhere in England or in the English plantations, under pain of forfeiting five pounds a month, half to the king and half to him who shall sue in any court of record. Both these regulations, though they have been confirmed by a public law of the kingdom, are evidently dictated by the same corporation spirit which enacted the by-law of Sheffield. The silk weavers in London had scarce been incorporated a year when they enacted a by-law restraining any master from having more

than two apprentices at a time. It required a particular act of Parliament to rescind this by-law. . . .

The Statute of Apprenticeship

By the 5th of Elizabeth, commonly called the Statute of Apprenticeship, it was enacted that no persons should for the future exercise any trade, craft, or mystery at the time exercised in England, unless he had previously served to it an apprenticeship of seven years at least; and what before had been the by-law of many particular corporations became in England the general public law of all the trades carried on in market towns. For, though the words of the statute are very general and plainly seem to include the whole kingdom, by interpretation its operation has been limited to market towns, it having been held that in country villages a person may exercise several different trades, though he has not served a seven years' apprenticeship to each, they being necessary for the conveniency of the inhabitants, and the number of people frequently not being sufficient to supply each with a particular set of hands.

Trades which had sprung up since Elizabeth's time not included in the apprentice system

By a strict interpretation of the words, too, the operation of this statute has been limited to those trades which were established in England before the 5th of Elizabeth and has never been extended to such as have been introduced since that time. This limitation has given occasion to several distinctions which, considered as rules of police, appear as foolish as can well be imagined. It has been adjudged, for example, that a coach maker can neither himself make nor employ journeymen to make his coach wheels, but must buy them of a master wheelwright, this latter trade having been exercised in England before the 5th of Elizabeth. But a wheelwright, though he has never served an apprenticeship to a coach maker, may either make them himself or employ journeymen to make coaches, the trade of a coach maker not being within the statute because not exercised in England at the time when it was made. The manufactures of Manchester, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton are, many of them, upon this account not within the statute, not having been exercised in England before the 5th of Elizabeth.

Situation in France

In France the duration of apprenticeships is different in different towns and in different trades. In Paris five years is

the term required in a great number; but before any person can be qualified to exercise the trade as a master he must in many of them serve five years more as a journeyman. During this latter term he is called the companion of his master and the term itself is called his companionship. . . .

Adam Smith's criticism of the guild system

The property which every man has in his own labor, as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable. The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands; and to hinder him from employing this strength and dexterity in what manner he thinks proper without injury to his neighbor is a plain violation of this most sacred property. It is a manifest encroachment upon the just liberty both of the workman and of those who might be disposed to employ him. As it hinders the one from working at what he thinks proper, so it hinders the others from employing whom they think proper. To judge whether he is fit to be employed may surely be trusted to the discretion of the employers whose interest it so much concerns. The affected anxiety of the lawgiver lest they should employ an improper person is evidently as impertinent as it is oppressive.

Long apprenticeship unnecessary

Long apprenticeships are altogether unnecessary. The arts which are much superior to common trades, such as those of making clocks and watches, contain no such mystery as to require a long course of instruction. The first invention of such beautiful machines, indeed, and even that of some of the instruments employed in making them, have been the work of deep thought and long time, and may justly be considered as among the happiest efforts of human ingenuity. But when both have been fairly invented and are well understood, to explain to any young man in the completest manner how to apply the instruments and how to construct the machines cannot well require more than the lessons of a few weeks—perhaps those of a few days might be sufficient. In the common mechanic trade those of a few days might certainly be sufficient. The dexterity of hands indeed even in common trades cannot be acquired without much practice and experience. But a young man would practice with much more diligence and attention if from the beginning he wrought as a journeyman,

being paid in proportion to the little work which he could execute and paying in his turn for the materials which he might sometimes spoil through awkwardness and inexperience. His education would generally in this way be more effectual and always less tedious and expensive.

Smith's interest in low prices to the consumer

The master indeed would be a loser. He would lose all the wages of the apprentice which he now saves for seven years together. In the end perhaps the apprentice himself would be the loser. In a trade so easily learnt he would have more competitors and his wages when he came to be a complete workman would be much less than at present. The same increase in competition would reduce the profits of the masters as well as the wages of the workmen. The trades, the crafts, the mysteries would all be losers. But the public would be a gainer, the work of all artificers coming in this way much cheaper to the market.

In 1776 the French economist, Turgot, was able as controller general to induce the king to sign an edict abolishing the guilds. In the preamble to the edict Turgot clearly states his attitude toward the guilds.

74. Preamble to Turgot's edict abolishing the guilds in France

In almost all the towns the exercise of the different arts and trades is concentrated in the hands of a small number of masters, united in corporations, who alone can, to the exclusion of all other citizens, make or sell the articles belonging to their particular industry. Any person who, by inclination or necessity, intends following an art or trade can only do so by acquiring the mastership [i.e. freedom of the corporation] after a probation as long and vexatious as it is superfluous. By having to satisfy repeated exactions, the money he had so much need of in order to start his trade or open his workshop has been consumed in mere waste. . . .

Citizens of all classes are deprived both of the right to choose the workmen they would employ, and of the advantages they would enjoy from competition operating toward improvements in manufacture and reduction in price. Often one cannot get the simplest work done without its having to

go through the hands of several workmen of different corporations, and without enduring the delays, tricks, and exactions which the pretensions of the different corporations, and the caprices of their arbitrary and mercenary directors, demand and encourage.

Thus the effects of these establishments are, first, as regards the state, a vast tyranny over trade and industrial work; second, as regards the great body of the people, a loss of wages and the means of subsistence; third, in respect to the inhabitants of towns in general, a slavery to exclusive privileges equivalent to a real monopoly, — a monopoly of which those who exercise it against the public are themselves the victims whenever, in their turn, they have need of the articles or the work of any other corporation. . . .

Among the infinite number of unreasonable regulations, we find in some corporations that all are excluded from them except the sons of masters, or those who marry the widows of masters. Others reject all those whom they call "strangers," — that is, those born in another town. In many of them for a young man to be married is enough to exclude him from the apprenticeship, and consequently from the mastership. The spirit of monopoly which has dictated the making of these statutes has been carried out to the excluding of women even from the trades the most suitable to their sex, such as embroidery, which they are forbidden to exercise on their own account. . . .

Section 24. The Nobility

Voltaire spent some time in England, from 1726 to 1729, when still a young man, and he was struck by the interesting contrast between the position of the English and the French nobility.

75. Voltaire contrasts the position of the English nobility with that of the French

Since only peers are, properly speaking, noble in England, there would be no such thing, in strictness of law, as nobility in that island, had not the kings created new barons from time to time, and preserved the body of peers, once a terror to them, to oppose them to the Commons, since become so formidable.

Moreover, these new peers who compose the upper House receive nothing but their titles from the king, and very few of them have estates in those places whence they take their titles. One is duke of D——, though he has not a foot of land in Dorsetshire; and another is earl of a village, though he scarce knows where it is situated. The peers have power, but it is only in the Parliament House.

No hunting rights in England

There is no such thing here in England as the power enjoyed by the French lords to judge in all matters, civil and criminal; or their right or privilege of hunting in the grounds of a citizen, who at the same time is not permitted to fire a gun in his own field.

No one is exempted in this country from paying certain taxes, because he is a nobleman or a priest. All imposts and taxes are fixed by the House of Commons, whose power is greater than that of the peers, though inferior to it in dignity. The spiritual as well as temporal lords have the right to reject a money bill brought in by the Commons, but they are not allowed to alter anything in it, and must either pass or throw it out without amendment. When the bill has passed the lords and is signed by the king, then the whole nation pays, every man in proportion to his revenue or estate, not according to his title, which would be absurd. There is no such thing as an arbitrary subsidy or poll tax, but a real tax on the lands, the value of which was determined in the reign of the famous King William III.

The land tax continues still upon the same footing, though the revenue of the lands is increased. Thus no one is tyrannized over, and every one is in comfortable circumstances. The feet of the peasants are not bruised by wooden shoes; they eat white bread, are well clothed, and are not afraid of increasing their stock of cattle, nor of tiling their houses, from any apprehensions that their taxes will be raised the year following. The annual income of the estates of a great many commoners in England amounts to no less than two hundred thousand livres; and yet these do not think it beneath them to plow the lands to which they owe their wealth, and on which they enjoy their liberty.

Section 25. The Catholic Church

The Council of Trent, before it broke up in 1564, ordered a catechism to be drawn up which should set forth, under the auspices of the head of the Church, the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church as they should be taught to the faithful. The following passage from this catechism deals with the article of the creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church."

76. The Roman Catholic conception of the church (from the Tridentine Catechism)

It will not be difficult to appreciate the care with which the pastor should explain this ninth article to the faithful, if we but note the following important considerations: first, that, as St. Augustine observes, the prophets spoke more plainly and explicitly of the Church than of Christ, foreseeing that on this point a much greater number may err and be deceived, than in regard to the mystery of the incarnation. The ages were to behold wicked men, who — imitative as the ape, that would fain pass for one of the human species — arrogate to themselves exclusively the name of "Catholic," and, with effrontery as unblushing as it is impious, assert that with them alone is to be found the Catholic Church.

Nature of heresy

Secondly, that he whose mind is once deeply impressed with this truth will experience little difficulty in avoiding the awful danger of heresy; for a person is not to be called a heretic so soon as he errs in matters of faith: then only is he to be so called, when, in defiance of the authority of the Church, he maintains impious opinions with unyielding obstinacy. . . .

Under the word "Church" are comprehended no unimportant mysteries, for, in this "calling forth," which the word "Ecclesia" (church) signifies, we at once recognize the benignity and splendor of divine grace, and understand that the Church is very unlike all other commonwealths: they rest on human reason and human prudence; this, on the wisdom and councils of God; for he called us by the interior inspiration of the Holy Ghost, who, through the ministry and labor of his pastors and preachers, penetrates into the hearts of men. . . .

It is essential to enumerate the several component parts of the Church, and point out their difference, in order that the faithful may the better comprehend the nature, properties, gifts, and graces of the Church, the object of God's special predilection; and unceasingly offer to the divine majesty the homage of their grateful praise.

Distinction between the Church triumphant and the Church militant

The Church consists principally of two parts, the one called the Church triumphant, the other the Church militant. The Church triumphant is that most glorious and happy assemblage of blessed spirits, and of those souls who have triumphed over the world, the flesh, and the devil, and now, exempt from the troubles of this life, are blessed with the fruition of everlasting bliss. The Church militant is the society of all the faithful still dwelling on earth, and is called militant because it wages eternal war with those implacable enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil. We are not, however, to infer that there are two Churches: they are two constituent parts of one Church; one part gone before, and now in possession of its heavenly country; the other, following every day, until, at length, united to its invisible head, it shall repose in the fruition of endless felicity.

The Church militant includes both the good and the evil

The Church militant is composed of two classes of persons, the good and the bad, both professing the same faith and partaking of the same sacraments; yet differing in their manner of life and morality. The good are those who are linked together not only by the profession of the same faith and the participation in the same sacraments, but also by the spirit of grace, and the bond of charity: of whom St. Paul says, "The Lord knoweth who are his." Who they are that compose this class we, also, may remotely conjecture; pronounce with certainty we cannot. . . . But, although the Catholic faith uniformly and truly teaches that the good and the bad belong to the Church, yet the same faith declares that the condition of both is very different: the wicked are contained in the Church, as the chaff is mingled with the grain on the threshing floor, or as dead members, sometimes, remain attached to a living body.

There are but three classes of persons excluded from the pale of the Church, — infidels, heretics and schismatics, and

Three classes excluded from the Church

excommunicated persons; infidels, because they never belonged to and never knew the Church, and were never made partakers of any of her sacraments; heretics and schismatics, because they have separated themselves from the Church, and belong to her only as deserters belong to the army from which they have deserted. It is not, however, to be denied, that they are still subject to the jurisdiction of the Church, inasmuch as they are liable to have judgment passed on their opinions, to be visited with spiritual punishments and denounced with anathema. Finally, excommunicated persons, because excluded by her sentence from the number of her children, belong not to her communion until restored by repentance. But with regard to the rest; however wicked and flagitious, it is certain that they still belong to the Church; and of this the faithful are frequently to be reminded, in order to be convinced that, were the lives even of her ministers debased by crime, they are still within her pale, and, therefore, lose no part of the power with which her ministry invests them. . . .

The unity of the Church under Peter's successor, the Pope

The distinctive marks of this Church are also to be made known to the faithful, that thus they may be enabled to estimate the extent of the blessing conferred by God on those who have had the happiness to be born and educated within her pale. The first mark of the true Church is described in the Creed of the Fathers, and consists in unity: "My dove is one, my beautiful one is one." So vast a multitude, scattered far and wide, is called one, for the reasons mentioned by St. Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." This Church has, also, but one ruler and one governor, the invisible one, Christ, whom the Eternal Father "hath made head over all the Church, which is his body"; the visible one, him, who, as legitimate successor of Peter the prince of Apostles, fills the apostolic chair.

Early testimony supporting the Pope's claim to supremacy

That this visible head is necessary to establish and preserve unity in the Church is the unanimous accord of the Fathers; and on this, the sentiments of St. Jerome, in his work against Jovinian, are as clearly conceived as they are happily expressed: "One," says he, "is chosen, so that, by the appointment of a

head, all occasion of schism may be removed"; and to Damasus: "Let envy cease, let the pride of Roman ambition be humbled: I speak to the successor of the fisherman, and to the disciple of the cross. Following no chief but Christ, I am united in communion with your Holiness, that is, with the chair of Peter. I know that on that rock is built the Church. Whoever will eat the lamb outside this house is profane: whoever is not in the ark of Noah shall perish in the flood." The same doctrine was, long before, established by Saints Irenæus and Cyprian: the latter, speaking of the unity of the Church, observes: "The Lord said to Peter, 'I say to thee, Peter, thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church': he builds his Church on one; and although, after his resurrection, he gave equal power to all his Apostles, saying, 'As the Father hath sent me, I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost'; yet, to display unity, he disposed, by his own authority, the origin of this unity, which had its beginning with one, etc." Again, Optatus of Milevis says: "It cannot be ascribed to ignorance on your part, knowing, as you do, that the episcopal chair, in which Peter, as head of all the Apostles, sat, was, originally fixed by him in the city of Rome, that in him alone may be preserved the unity of the Church; and that the other Apostles may not claim each a chair for himself; so that, now, he who erects another, in opposition to this single chair, is a schismatic and a liar."

In the next place, St. Basil has these words: "Peter is made the foundation, because he says, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God,' and hears in reply that he is a rock; but although a rock, he is not such a rock as Christ, for in himself Christ is, truly, an immovable rock, but Peter, only by virtue of that rock; for God bestows his dignities on others: he is a priest, and he makes priests; a rock, and he makes a rock: what belongs to himself, he bestows on his servants." Lastly, St. Ambrose says: "Should any one object, that the Church is content with one head and one spouse, Jesus Christ, and requires no other, the answer is obvious; for, as we deem Christ not only the author of all the Sacraments, but also their invisible minister (he it is who baptizes, he it is who

absolves, although men are appointed by him the external ministers of the sacraments), so has he placed over his Church, which he governs by his invisible spirit, a man to be his vicar, and the minister of his power: a visible Church requires a visible head, and, therefore, does the Savior appoint Peter head and pastor of all the faithful, when, in the most ample terms, he commits to his care the feeding of all his sheep; desiring that he who was to succeed him should be invested with the very same power of ruling and governing the entire Church.". . .

Section 26. The Jesuits and Ultramontanism

Macaulay gives the following estimate of the work of the Jesuit Order in his well-known *History of England.*

77. Macaulay's description of the Jesuits

When the Jesuits came to the rescue, they found the Papacy in extreme peril; but from that moment the tide of battle turned. Protestantism, which had, during a whole generation, carried all before it, was stopped in its progress and rapidly beaten back from the foot of the Alps to the shores of the Baltic. Before the Order had existed a hundred years, it had filled the whole world with memorials of great things done and suffered for the faith. No religious community could produce a list of men so variously distinguished: none had extended its operations over so vast a space: yet in none had there been such perfect unity of feeling and action. There was no region of the globe, no walk of speculative or of active life in which Jesuits were not to be found.

The varied character of Jesuit labors

They guided the counsels of kings. They deciphered Latin inscriptions. They observed the motion of Jupiter's satellites. They published whole libraries,—controversy, casuistry, history, treatises on optics, Alcaic codes, editions of the fathers, madrigals, catechisms, and lampoons. The liberal education of youth passed almost entirely into their hands and was conducted by them with conspicuous ability. They appear to have discovered the precise point to which intellectual culture can be carried without risk of intellectual emancipation. Enmity itself was compelled to own that in the art of managing and

forming the tender mind they had no equals. Meanwhile they assiduously and successfully cultivated the eloquence of the pulpit. With still greater assiduity and still greater success they applied themselves to the ministry of the confessional. Throughout Roman Catholic Europe the secrets of every government and of almost every family of note were in their keeping. They glided from one Protestant country to another under innumerable guises, as gay cavaliers, as simple rustics, as Puritan preachers. They wandered to countries which neither mercantile avidity nor liberal curiosity had ever impelled any stranger to explore. They were to be found in the garb of mandarins, superintending the observatory at Pekin. They were to be found, spade in hand, teaching the rudiments of agriculture to the savages of Paraguay. Yet, whatever might be their residence, whatever might be their employment, their spirit was the same, — entire devotion to the common cause, unreasoning obedience to the central authority.

The Jesuit's loyalty to his Superior

None of them had chosen his dwelling place or his vocation for himself. Whether a Jesuit should live under the Arctic circle or under the equator, whether he should pass his life in arranging gems and collating manuscripts at the Vatican or in persuading naked barbarians under the Southern Cross not to eat each other, were matters which he left with profound submission to the decision of others. If he was wanted at Lima, he was on the Atlantic in the next fleet. If he was wanted at Bagdad, he was toiling through the desert with the next caravan. If his ministry was needed in some country where his life was more insecure than that of a wolf, where the heads and quarters of his brethren, fixed in public places, showed him what he had to expect, he went without remonstrance or hesitation to his doom. Nor is this heroic spirit yet extinct. When in our own time, a new and terrible pestilence passed around the globe, when, in some great cities, fear had dissolved all the ties which hold society together, when the secular clergy had forsaken their flocks, when medical succor was not to be purchased by gold, when the strongest natural affections had yielded to the love of life, even then the Jesuit was found by the pallet which bishop and curate, physician and nurse, father and

mother had deserted, bending over infected lips to catch the faint accents of confession and holding up to the last before the expiring penitent the image of the expiring Redeemer.

Dark side of the picture

But with the admirable energy, disinterestedness, and self-devotion which were characteristic of the society, great vices were mingled. It was alleged, and not without foundation, that the ardent public spirit which made the Jesuit regardless of his ease, of his liberty, and of his life, made him also regardless of truth and mercy; that no means which could promote the interest of his religion seemed to him unlawful; and that by the interest of his religion he too often meant the interest of his Society. It was alleged that in the most atrocious plots recorded in history his agency could be distinctly traced; that, constant only in attachment to the fraternity to which he belonged, he was in some countries the most dangerous enemy of freedom, and in others the most dangerous enemy of order. The mighty victories which he boasted that he had achieved in the cause of the Church were, in the judgment of many of the illustrious members of that Church, rather apparent than real. . . .

So strangely were good and evil intermixed in the character of these celebrated brethren; and the intermixture was the secret of their gigantic power. That power could never have belonged to mere hypocrites. It never could have belonged to rigid moralists. It was to be attained only by men sincerely enthusiastic in the pursuit of a great end, and at the same time unscrupulous as to the choice of means.

A French Jesuit, who fell into the hands of the Iroquois Indians in 1644, sends the following terrible account of his sufferings to the head of his Order in Europe.

78. Sufferings endured by a Jesuit missionary in Canada (1644)

Our Reverend Father in Christ. Pax Christi:

I know not whether your paternity will recognize the letter of a poor cripple, who formerly, when in perfect health, was well known to you. The letter is badly written and quite soiled because, in addition to other inconveniences, he who writes it has only one whole finger on his right hand; and it is difficult

to avoid staining the paper with the blood which flows from his wounds, not yet healed: he uses arquebus powder for ink and the earth for a table. He writes it from the country of the Iroquois where at present he happens to be a captive, and desires herewith to give you a brief report of that which the Divine Providence has at last ordained for him.

I started from Three Rivers by order of the Superior on the 27th of last April, — in company with six Christian barbarians and a young Frenchman, with three canoes, — to go to the country of the Hurons. . . .

Captured by the Iroquois

The third day, when not distant more than twenty or twenty-four miles from Three Rivers, and seven or eight from the fortress of Richelieu, we were taken captive by twenty-seven Iroquois who, having killed one of our barbarians, captured the others and me with them. We might have fled or indeed killed some Iroquois; but I, for my part, on seeing my companions taken, judged it better to remain with them — accepting as a sign of the will of God the inclination and almost resolution of those who conducted me, who chose rather to surrender than to escape by flight. Those who had captured us made horrible cries, *Sicut exultant victores capta praeda;* and gave many thanks to the Sun for having in their hands, among the others, a "black robe," — as they call the Jesuits.

Terrible experience on the march

I will not write here what I suffered on that journey; enough to know that we marched, carrying burdens, in the woods, where there is no road at all, but only stones, or young shoots, or ditches, or water, or snow, — which was not yet everywhere melted. We traveled without shoes; fasting sometimes till three and four o'clock in the afternoon, and often whole days; exposed to the rain, and soaked in the water of the torrents and rivers which we had to cross. At evening my office was to gather the wood, carry the water, and do the cooking, when there was any; and if I came short in anything, or did not understand well, the blows were not lacking, — and much less did these fail when we happened to meet people who were going either fishing or hunting; besides, I was hardly able to rest at night for being bound to a tree and exposed to the severity of the air, which was still quite cold. We finally reached

their lake, on which — when they had made other canoes, at which it was necessary for me to assist them — we sailed five or six days, after which we landed, and there we made three days' journey on foot.

Cruel treatment on arrival at the Indian village

On the fourth day, which was the 15th of May, about the twentieth hour, being still fasting, we arrived at a river where about four hundred Barbarians were assembled for fishing; being already apprised of our arrival, they then came to meet us. At about two hundred paces from their cabins, they stripped me naked, and made me go first; on either side, the young men of the country stood in line, every one with his stick in hand, but the first of them had, instead of the stick, a knife. Then, as I began to proceed, this one suddenly stopped me; and, having taken my left hand, with the knife which he held he made in it an incision between the little finger and the ring finger, with so much force and violence that I believed he would split my whole hand; and the others began to load me with blows as far as the stage prepared for our torment.

Then they made me mount upon some great pieces of bark, about nine palms above the ground, in order that we might be seen and mocked by the people. I was now bruised all over, and covered with blood, which was flowing from all parts of my body, and exposed to a very cold wind, which made it suddenly congeal over the skin; but I greatly consoled myself to see that God granted me the favor of suffering in this world some little pain in place of that which I was under obligation, because of my sins, to pay in the other with torments incomparably greater.

Meanwhile the warriors arrived, and were magnificently received by the people of this village; and, when they were refreshed with the best that they had from their fishing, they commanded us to sing; it may be imagined how we could do so, fasting, weak from the journey, overwhelmed with blows, and trembling with cold from head to foot. . . .

They made me walk around the fire, where they had fixed in the earth sharp sticks between the burning ashes; some tore out my hair, others my beard; and every night, after having made me sing, and tormented me as above, they would

burn one of my nails or fingers for the space of eight or ten minutes; of ten that I had, I have now only one whole one left, — and even from this one they have torn out the nail with their teeth. One evening they burned one of my nails; on another, the first joint or section of a finger; on the next, the second. In six times they burned nearly six of my fingers — and more than eighteen times they applied the fire and iron to my hands alone; and meanwhile it was necessary to sing. Thus they treated us till one or two hours after midnight, and then they left me on the bare ground, usually tied to the spot, and exposed to the rain, without other bed or cover than a small skin, which covered not the half of my body, — even at times without anything. . . .

We finally arrived at the first village of that nation, where our entrance was similar to the former, and still more cruel, because — in addition to the blows with their fists, and other blows which they gave me on the most sensitive parts of the body — they split, for the second time, my left hand between the middle finger and the forefinger; and I received beatings in so great number that they made me fall to the ground, half dead. . . .

Surfeited with tormenting us here, they sent us to another village, nine or ten miles distant, where, besides the other torments, already mentioned, they suspended me by the feet, sometimes with cords, again with chains, which they had taken from the Dutch; with these, at night, they left me bound — hands, feet, and neck — to several stakes, as usual, upon the bare ground. . . .

Hopes for freedom

I live here among the shadows of death, not hearing anything spoken of but murders and assassinations. They have recently slain in a cabin one of their own nation, as being useless, and as one who did not deserve to live. Of course, I suffer somewhat here; my wounds are not yet healed over, and many do not regard me with a favorable eye. One cannot live without crosses, and this one is of sugar in comparison with the past one. The Dutch cause me to hope for my ransom, and that of the lad who was taken with me; the will of God be done, in time and in Eternity. I shall hope for it with greater reason if you will make me a partaker of your Holy

sacrifices and prayers, and of those of our Fathers and brethren, — especially of those who were formerly acquainted with me.

From the Iroquois, the 15th of July, 1644.

In 1773 Pope Clement XIV reluctantly determined to issue a bull suppressing the Jesuit Order. After speaking of the great good that the various religious orders had accomplished, and then citing a number of instances in which preceding Popes had reformed or even abolished orders that had degenerated, he proceeds:

79. Bull of Clement XIV for the effectual abolition of the Order of Jesus (1773)

We, therefore, having before our eyes these and other such examples of great weight and high authority, and animated moreover by a lively desire of walking with a safe conscience and a firm step in the deliberations of which we shall speak hereafter, have omitted no care, no pains, in order to arrive at a thorough knowledge of the origin, the progress, and the actual state of that regular order commonly called "the Company of Jesus." In the course of these investigations we have seen that the holy founder of the Order did institute it for the salvation of souls, the conversion of heretics and infidels, and, in short, for the greater advancement of piety and religion. And, in order to attain more surely and happily so laudable a design, he consecrated himself rigorously to God by an absolute vow of evangelical poverty, with which to bind the Society in general, and each individual in particular, except only the colleges in which polite literature and other branches of knowledge were to be taught, and which were allowed to possess property, but so that no part of their revenues could ever be applied to the use of the said Society in general. It was under these and other holy restrictions that the Company of Jesus was approved by the Pope Paul III, our predecessor of blessed memory, by his letter *sub plumbo*, dated 27th September, 1540.

Origin and purpose of the Order

[Here Clement enumerates the other Popes who had either confirmed or increased the privileges already granted to the Society.]

Notwithstanding so many and so great favors, it appears from the apostolic constitutions that, almost at the very moment

of its institution, there arose in the bosom of this Society divers seeds of discord and dissension, not only among the companions themselves, but with other regular orders, the secular clergy, the academies, the universities, the public schools, and, lastly, even with the princes of the states in which the Society was received. . . . In short, accusations of the gravest nature, and very detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of the Christian republic, have been continually received against the said Order. Hence the origin of that infinity of appeals and protests against the Society, which so many sovereigns have laid at the foot of the throne of our predecessors Paul IV, Pius V, and Sixtus V. . . .

Dissensions caused by the Jesuits

The dissensions among themselves, and with others, grew every day more animated; the accusations against the Society were multiplied without number, and especially that of insatiable avidity of temporal possessions with which it was reproached. Hence the rise not only of those well-known troubles which brought so much care and solicitude upon the Holy See, but also of the resolutions which certain sovereigns took against the said Order. . . .

The Society charged with zeal for securing temporal possessions

After so many storms, troubles, and divisions, every good man looked forward with impatience to the happy day which was to restore peace and tranquillity. But under the reign of this same Clement XIII the times became more difficult and tempestuous; complaints and quarrels were multiplied on every side; in some places dangerous seditions arose, tumults, discords, dissensions, scandals, which, weakening or entirely breaking the bonds of Christian charity, excited the faithful to all the rage of party hatreds and enmities. Desolation and danger grew to such a height that the very sovereigns whose piety and liberality towards the Company were so well known as to be looked upon as hereditary in their families — we mean our dearly beloved sons in Christ, the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily — found themselves reduced to the necessity of expelling and driving from their states, kingdoms, and provinces these very Companions of Jesus, because they were persuaded that there remained no other remedy for so great evils, and that this step was necessary in order to prevent the

Dissensions lead to expulsion of Jesuits in France, Spain Portugal, and Sicily

Christians from rising one against another, and from massacring one another in the very bosom of our common mother, the Holy Church. The said our dear sons in Jesus Christ, having since considered that even this remedy would not be sufficient towards reconciling the whole Christian world unless the said Society was absolutely abolished and suppressed, made known their demands and wills in this matter to our said predecessor Clement XIII. . . .

Actuated by so many and important considerations, and, as we hope, aided by the presence and inspiration of the Holy Spirit; compelled by the necessity of our ministry, which strictly obliges us to conciliate, maintain, and confirm the peace and tranquillity of the Christian republic, and remove every obstacle which may tend to trouble it; having furthermore considered that the said Company of Jesus can no longer produce those abundant fruits, and those great advantages, with a view to which it was instituted, approved by so many of our predecessors, and endowed with so many and extensive privileges; that, on the contrary, it would be very difficult, not to say impossible, for the Church to recover a firm and durable peace so long as the said Society subsisted; . . . therefore, after a mature deliberation, we do, out of our certain knowledge, and fullness of our apostolic power, suppress and abolish the said Company: we deprive it of all activity whatever, of its houses, schools, colleges, hospitals, lands, and, in short, every other place whatsoever, in whatever kingdom or province they may be situated; we abrogate and annul its statutes, rules, customs, decrees, and constitutions, even though confirmed by oath, and approved by the Holy See or otherwise; in like manner we annul all and every, its privileges, grants, general or particular. . . .

Complete destruction of the Order

Section 27. The English Established Church and the Protestant Sects

Voltaire gives the following lively account of his impressions of the various religious sects in England. He is speaking of Walpole's time.

England is properly the country of religious sects. *Multae sunt mansiones in domo patris mei* (in my father's house are many mansions). An Englishman, as one to whom liberty is natural, may go to heaven his own way.

80. Voltaire's impression of the English sects in the time of Walpole

Nevertheless, although every one is permitted to serve God in whatever mode or fashion he thinks proper, their true religion, that in which a man makes his fortune, is the sect of Episcopalians or Churchmen, called the Church of England, or simply the Church, by way of eminence. No person can possess an employment either in England or Ireland unless he be ranked among the faithful, that is, professes himself a member of the Church of England. This reason (which carries mathematical evidence with it) has converted such numbers of Dissenters of all persuasions, that not a twentieth part of the nation is out of the pale of the Established Church. The English clergy have retained a great number of the Roman Catholic ceremonies, and especially that of receiving, with a most scrupulous attention, their tithes. They also have the pious ambition to be masters, for what village parson would not be Pope!

Decline of religious controversy in England

Moreover, they very religiously inspire their flock with a holy zeal against Dissenters of all denominations. This zeal was pretty violent under the Tories, in the four last years of Queen Anne; but was productive of no greater mischief than the breaking the windows of some meetinghouses and the demolishing of a few of them. For religious rage ceased in England with the civil wars, and was no more under Queen Anne than the hollow noise of a sea whose billows still heaved so long after that storm during which Whigs and Tories had laid waste their native country, in the same manner as the Guelphs and Ghibellines formerly did theirs. It was absolutely necessary for both parties to call in religion on this occasion; the Tories declared for episcopacy, and the Whigs, as some imagined, were for abolishing it: however, after these had got the upper hand, they contented themselves with only abridging it.

At the time when the earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke used to drink healths to the Tories, the Church of England considered those noblemen as the defenders of its holy privileges.

The lower house of Convocation (a kind of House of Commons), composed wholly of the clergy, was in some credit at that time; at least the members of it had the liberty to meet, to dispute on ecclesiastical matters, to sentence impious books from time to time to the flames, — that is, books written against themselves. Now, the ministry, which is composed of Whigs, does not so much as allow those gentlemen to assemble, so that they are at this time reduced (in the obscurity of their respective parishes) to the melancholy occupation of praying for the prosperity of the government, whose tranquillity they would willingly disturb.

With regard to the bishops, who are twenty-six in all, they still have seats in the House of Lords in spite of the Whigs, because the ancient abuse of considering them as barons subsists to this day. . .

English clergy more moral than the French

With regard to the morals of the English clergy, they are more regular than those of the French, and for this reason. All the clergy (a very few excepted) are educated in the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, far from the depravity and corruption which reign at the capital. They are not called to dignities till very late, at a time of life when men are sensible of no other passion but avarice, that is, when their ambition begins to fail. Employments are here bestowed both in the Church and army, as a reward for long services; and we never see youngsters made bishops or colonels immediately upon their laying aside the academical gown; and besides, most of the clergy are married. . . .

Blackstone in his famous *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, published 1765–1768, gives an authoritative statement of the legal status of the Dissenters and Roman Catholics in England in the eighteenth century.

81. Blackstone on the status of Dissenters and Catholics in England

Nonconformists are of two sorts: first, such as absent themselves from divine worship in the Established Church through total irreligion and attend the service of no other persuasion. . . . The second species of nonconformists are those who offend through a mistaken or perverse zeal. Such were

esteemed by our laws, enacted since the time of the Reformation, to be Papists and Protestant Dissenters: both of which were supposed to be equally schismatics in not communicating with the national Church; with this difference, that the Papists divided from it upon material, though erroneous, reasons; but many of the Dissenters, upon matters of indifference, or, in other words, upon no reason at all.

Blackstone disapproves of religious persecution

Yet, certainly our ancestors were mistaken in their plans of compulsion and intolerance. The sin of schism, as such, is by no means the object of temporal coercion and punishment. If through weakness of intellect, through misdirected piety, through perverseness and acerbity of temper, or (which is often the case) through a prospect of secular advantage in herding with a party, men quarrel with the ecclesiastical establishment, the civil magistrate has nothing to do with it; unless their tenets and practice are such as threaten ruin or disturbance to the State. He is bound indeed to protect the Established Church, and if this can be better effected by admitting none but its genuine members to offices of trust and emolument, he is certainly at liberty to do so; the disposal of offices being matter of favor and discretion. But, this point being once secured, all persecution for diversity of opinions, however ridiculous or absurd they may be, is contrary to every principle of sound policy and civil freedom. . . .

Protestant Dissenters

With regard therefore to *Protestant Dissenters*, although the experience of their turbulent disposition in former times occasioned several disabilities and restrictions (which I shall not undertake to justify) to be laid upon them by abundance of statutes, yet at length the legislature, with a spirit of true magnanimity, extended that indulgence to these sectaries which they themselves, when in power, had held to be countenancing schism, and denied to the Church of England.

The Toleration Act of 1689

The penalties are conditionally suspended by the statute 1 W. & M. st. 1, c. 18. "For exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws," commonly called the Toleration Act; which declares, that neither the laws above mentioned, nor any penal laws made against popish recusants (except the

Catholics and Unitarians excluded

Test Acts) shall extend to any Dissenters other than Papists and such as deny the Trinity: provided (1) that they take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy (or make a similar affirmation being Quakers) and subscribe the declaration against popery; (2) that they repair to some congregation certified to and registered in the court of the bishop or archdeacon, or at the county sessions; (3) that the doors of such meeting-house shall be unlocked, unbarred, and unbolted; in default of which the persons meeting there are still liable to all the penalties of the former acts. . . .

Thus, though the crime of nonconformity is by no means universally abrogated, it is suspended and ceases to exist with regard to these Protestant Dissenters during their compliance with the conditions imposed by the Act of Toleration: and, under these conditions, all persons who will approve themselves no Papists or impugners of the Trinity are left at full liberty to act as their consciences shall direct them, in the matter of religious worship. . . .

Restriction on dissenting teachers

[But the Act of Toleration doth not] extend to enervate those clauses of the statutes 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4. & 17 Car. II. c. 2, which prohibit (upon pain of fine and imprisonment) all persons from teaching school unless they be licensed by the ordinary [i.e. bishop], and subscribe a declaration of conformity to the liturgy of the church, and reverently frequent divine service established by the laws of this kingdom.

Distinction between the Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters

As to Papists, what has been said of the Protestant Dissenters would hold equally strong for a general toleration of them; provided their separation was founded only upon difference of opinion in religion, and their principles did not also extend to a subversion of the civil government. If once they could be brought to renounce the supremacy of the Pope, they might quietly enjoy their seven sacraments, their purgatory and auricular confession, their worship of relics and images, nay, even their transubstantiation. But while they acknowledge a foreign power, superior to the sovereignty of the kingdom, they cannot complain if the laws of that kingdom will not treat them upon the footing of good subjects.

Let us therefore now take a view of the laws in force against the Papists, who may be divided into three classes, persons professing popery, popish recusants convict, and popish priests.

Persons who are Catholics from their infancy

1. Persons professing the popish religion, besides the former penalties for not frequenting their parish church, are disabled from taking any lands, either by descent or purchase, after eighteen years of age, until they renounce their errors; they must at the age of twenty-one register their estates before acquired, and all future conveyances and wills relating to them; they are incapable of presenting to any advowson, or granting to any other person any avoidance of the same; they may not keep or teach any school under pain of perpetual imprisonment; and if they willingly say or hear mass, they forfeit the one two hundred, the other one hundred marks, and each shall suffer a year's imprisonment. Thus much for persons who, from the misfortune of family prejudices or otherwise, have conceived an unhappy attachment to the Romish church from their infancy, and publicly profess its errors.

But if any evil industry is used to rivet these errors upon them, if any person sends another abroad to be educated in the popish religion or to reside in any religious house abroad for that purpose, or contributes to their maintenance when there, both the sender, the sent, and the contributor are disabled to sue in law or equity, to be executor or administrator to any person, to take any legacy or deed of gift, and to bear any office in the realm, and shall forfeit all their goods and chattels, and likewise all their real estate for life. And where these errors are also aggravated by apostasy or perversion, where a person is reconciled to the see of Rome or procures others to be reconciled, the offense amounts to high treason.

Position of recusants convicted in a court of law of not attending the services of the Established Church

2. Popish recusants convicted in a court of law of not attending the service of the Church of England are subject to the following disabilities, penalties, and forfeitures, over and above those before mentioned. They are considered as persons excommunicated; they can hold no office or employment; they must not keep arms in their houses, but the same may be seized by the justices of the peace; they may not come within

ten miles of London, on pain of £100; they can bring no action at law, or suit in equity; they are not permitted to travel above five miles from home, unless by license, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods; and they may not come to court under pain of £100. No marriage or burial of such recusant, or baptism of his child, shall be had otherwise than by the ministers of the Church of England, under other severe penalties. A married woman, when recusant, shall forfeit two thirds of her dower. . . .

[And, lastly, all recusants] must, within three months after conviction, either submit and renounce their errors, or, if required to do so by four justices, must abjure and renounce the realm: and if they do not depart, or if they return without the king's license, they shall be guilty of felony, and suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy. . . . This is the state, by the laws now in being, of a lay papist.

Position of Roman Catholic priests

3. But the remaining species or degree, viz. popish priests, are in a still more dangerous condition. By statute 11 and 12 W. III. c. 4, popish priests or bishops, celebrating mass or exercising any part of their functions in England, except in the houses of ambassadors, are liable to perpetual imprisonment. And by the statute 27 Eliz. c. 2, any popish priest, born in the dominions of the crown of England, who shall come over hither from beyond sea (unless driven by stress of weather and tarrying only a reasonable time), or shall be in England three days without conforming and taking the oaths, is guilty of high treason; and all persons harboring him are guilty of felony without the benefit of clergy.

This is a short summary of the laws against the Papists, under their three several classes, — of persons professing the popish religion, popish recusants convict, and popish priests. Of which the president, Montesquieu, observes, that they are so rigorous, though not professedly of the sanguinary kind, that they do all the hurt that can possibly be done in cold blood. But in answer to this it may be observed (what foreigners who only judge from our statute book are not fully apprised of), that these laws are seldom exerted to their utmost rigor; and, indeed, if they were, it would be very difficult to excuse them.

For they are rather to be accounted for from their history, and the urgency of the times which produced them, than to be approved (upon a cool review) as a standing system of law.

Origin of the intolerant laws

The restless machinations of the Jesuits during the reign of Elizabeth, the turbulence and uneasiness of the Papists under the new religious establishment, and the boldness of their hopes and wishes for the succession of the queen of Scots obliged the Parliament to counteract so dangerous a spirit by laws of a great, and then perhaps necessary, severity. The powder treason, in the succeeding reign, struck a panic into James I, which operated in different ways: it occasioned the enacting of new laws against the Papists, but deterred him from putting them in execution. The intrigues of Queen Henrietta in the reign of Charles I, the prospect of a popish successor in that of Charles II, the assassination plot in the reign of King William, and the avowed claim of a popish pretender to the crown in subsequent reigns will account for the extension of these penalties at those several periods of our history.

But if a time should ever arrive, and perhaps it is not very distant, when all fears of a pretender shall have vanished, and the power and influence of the Pope shall become feeble, ridiculous, and despicable, not only in England, but in every kingdom of Europe, it probably would not then be amiss to review and soften these rigorous edicts; at least till the *civil* principles of the Roman Catholics called again upon the legislature to renew them; for it ought not to be left in the breast of every merciless bigot to drag down the vengeance of these occasional laws upon inoffensive, though mistaken, subjects, in opposition to the lenient inclinations of the civil magistrate, and to the destruction of every principle of toleration and religious liberty.

The Corporation Act

In order the better to secure the Established Church against perils from nonconformists of all denominations, infidels, Turks, Jews, heretics, Papists, and sectaries, there are, however, two bulwarks erected, called the *Corporation* and *Test* acts: by the former of which no person can be legally elected to any office relating to the government of any city or corporation,

unless, within a twelvemonth before, he has received the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the Church of England; and he is also enjoined to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy at the same time that he takes the oath of office; or, in default of either of these requisites, such election shall be void.

The Test Act

The other, called the Test Act, directs all officers civil and military to take the oaths and make the declaration against transubstantiation, in any of the king's courts at Westminster, or at the quarter sessions, within six calendar months after their admission; and also within the same time to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the Church of England, in some public church immediately after divine service and sermon, and to deliver into court a certificate thereof signed by the minister and churchwarden, and also to prove the same by two credible witnesses, upon forfeiture of £500 and disability to hold the said office. And of much the same nature with these is the statute 7 Jac. I. c. 2, which permits no persons to be naturalized or restored in blood but such as undergo a like test: which test having been removed in 1753, in favor of the Jews, was the next session of Parliament restored again with some precipitation.

Turning from the scoffing reflections of Voltaire and the legal distinctions of Blackstone to the *Journal* of John Wesley, we find ourselves in an atmosphere of religious fervor and devotion which characterized the Methodist church, the chief new Protestant sect in the eighteenth century.

82. Extracts from John Wesley's *Journal*

With regard to my own behavior, I now renewed and wrote down my former resolutions.

1. To use absolute openness and unreserve with all I should converse with.

2. To labor after continual seriousness, not willingly indulging myself in any the least levity of behavior, or in laughter; no, not for a moment.

3. To speak no word which does not tend to the glory of God; in particular, not to talk of worldly things. Others may, nay, must. But what is that to thee?

4. To take no pleasure which does not tend to the glory of God; thanking God every moment for all I do take, and therefore rejecting every sort and degree of it, which I feel I cannot so thank him in and for.

. . . . . .

Wesley's "conversion" in the year 1738.

Wed., May 24. I think it was about five this morning that I opened my Testament on those words, "There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the divine nature" (2 Peter i. 4). Just as I went out, I opened it again on those words, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." In the afternoon I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was, "Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord: Lord, hear my voice. O let thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? For there is mercy with thee; therefore shalt thou be feared. O Israel, trust in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his sins."

In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, "This cannot be faith; for where is thy joy?" Then was I taught that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation; but that, as to the transports of joy that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those who have

mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdeth them, according to the counsels of his own will.

After my return home I was much buffeted with temptations, but cried out, and they fled away. They returned again and again. I as often lifted up my eyes, and He "sent me help from his holy place." And herein I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea, fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now, I was always conqueror. . . .

The colliers of Kingswood (1739)

Many last winter used tauntingly to say of Mr. Whitefield, "If he will convert heathens, why does not he go to the colliers of Kingswood?" In spring he did so. And as there were thousands who resorted to no place of public worship, he went after them into their own wilderness, "to seek and save that which was lost." When he was called away, others went into "the highways and hedges, to compel them to come in." And, by the grace of God, their labor was not in vain. The scene is already changed. Kingswood does not now, as a year ago, resound with cursing and blasphemy. It is no more filled with drunkenness and uncleanness, and the idle diversions that naturally lead thereto. It is no longer full of wars and fightings, of clamor and bitterness, of wrath and envyings. Peace and love are there. Great numbers of the people are mild, gentle, and easy to be entreated. They "do not cry, neither strive"; and hardly is their "voice heard in the streets"; or, indeed, in their own wood; unless when they are at their usual evening diversion — singing praise unto God their Saviour.

That their children, too, might know the things which make for their peace, it was some time since proposed to build a house in Kingswood; and after many foreseen and unforeseen difficulties, in June last the foundation was laid. The ground made choice of was in the middle of the wood, between the London and Bath roads, not far from that called Two Mile Hill, about three measured miles from Bristol.

Here a large room was begun for the school, having four small rooms at either end for the schoolmasters (and, perhaps, if it should please God, some poor children) to lodge in. Two

persons are ready to teach, so soon as the house is fit to receive them, the shell of which is nearly finished; so that it is hoped the whole will be completed in spring or early in the summer.

Wesley pelted by the mob at Leeds

Mon., Sept. 9 [1745]. I left London, and the next morning called on Dr. Doddridge, at Northampton. It was about the hour when he was accustomed to expound a portion of Scripture to young gentlemen under his care. He desired me to take his place. It may be the seed was not altogether sown in vain.

Thurs., 12. I came to Leeds, preached at five, and at eight met the society; after which the mob pelted us with dirt and stones great part of the way home. The congregation was much larger next evening; and so was the mob at our return, and likewise in higher spirits, being ready to knock out all our brains for joy that the duke of Tuscany was Emperor. What a melancholy consideration is this, that the bulk of the English nation will not suffer God to give them the blessings he would, because they would turn them into curses! He cannot, for instance, give them success against their enemies, for they would tear their own countrymen in pieces; he cannot trust them with victory, lest they should thank him by murdering those that are quiet in the land. . . .

Wesley reviews the growth of Methodism during fifty years

Thurs., March 24 (Worcester) [1785]. I was now considering how strangely the grain of mustard seed, planted about fifty years ago, has grown up. It has spread through all Great Britain and Ireland, the Isle of Wight, and the Isle of Man; then to America from the Leeward Islands, through the whole continent, into Canada and Newfoundland. And the societies, in all these parts, walk by one rule, knowing religion is holy tempers; and striving to worship God, not in form only, but likewise "in spirit and in truth."

Tues., June 28. By the good providence of God, I finished the eighty-second year of my age. Is anything too hard for God? It is now eleven years since I have felt any such thing as weariness: many times I speak till my voice fails, and I can speak no longer; frequently I walk till my strength fails, and I can walk no farther; yet even then I feel no sensation of weariness, but am perfectly easy from head to foot. I dare not impute this to natural causes: it is the will of God.

CHAPTER IX

THE SPIRIT OF REFORM

Section 28. The Development of Modern Science

Whewell, in his *History of the Inductive Sciences*, thus characterizes the attitude of a great part of the mediæval thinkers towards science.

83. Contrast between the mediæval and the modern attitude toward natural science

We have already stated that real scientific progress requires distinct general ideas applied to many special and certain facts. In the period of which we now have to speak, namely, the mediæval, men's ideas were obscured; their disposition to bring their general views into accordance with facts was enfeebled. They were thus led to employ themselves unprofitably among indistinct and unreal notions; and the evil of these tendencies was further inflamed by moral peculiarities in the character of those times, — by an abjectness of thought, on the one hand, which could not help looking towards some intellectual superior; and by an impatience of dissent, on the other. . . .

The fact that mere collections of the opinions of physical philosophers came to hold a prominent place in literature already indicated a tendency to an indistinct and wandering apprehension of such opinions. . . . Even Aristotle himself is much in the habit of enumerating the opinions of those who have preceded him. To present such statements as an important part of physical philosophy shows an erroneous and loose apprehension of its nature. . . . Such diversities of opinion convey no truth; such a multiplicity of statements of what has been *said* in no degree teaches us what *is;* such accumulations of indistinct notions, however vast and varied, do not make up one distinct idea.

. . . But the indistinctness of thought which is so fatal a feature in the intellect of the stationary period may be traced

more directly in the works even of the best authors of those times. . . . Thus, if men had any distinct idea of mechanical action, they could not have accepted for a moment the fable of the Echeneis, or Remora, a little fish which was said to be able to stop a large ship by merely sticking to it. . . . Pliny relates the tale gravely and moralizes upon it after his manner.[1] "What," he cries, "is more violent than the sea and the winds? What greater work of art than a ship? Yet one little fish (the Echeneis) can hold back all these when they all strain the same way. The winds may blow, the waves may rage; but this small creature controls their fury, and stops a vessel, when chains and anchors would not hold it: and this it does not by hard labor but by merely adhering to it. Alas for human vanity, when the turreted ships, which man has built that he may fight from castle walls at sea as well as on land, are held captive and motionless by a fish a foot and a half long! Such a fish is said to have stopped the admiral's ship at the battle of Actium, and compelled Antony to go into another. And in our own memory one of these animals held fast the ship of Caius, the emperor, when he was sailing from Astura to Antium. The stopping of this ship when all the rest of the fleet went on caused surprise; but this did not last long, for some of the men jumped into the water to look for the fish, and found it sticking to the rudder. They showed it to Caius, who was indignant that this animal should interpose its prohibition to his progress, when impelled by four hundred rowers. It was like a slug, and had no power after it was taken into the ship."

Pliny's story of the powerful Echeneis

A very little advance in the power of thinking clearly on the force which it exerted in pulling would have enabled the Romans to see that the ship and its rowers must pull the adhering fish by the hold of the oars upon the water; and that, except the fish had a hold equally strong on some external body, it could not resist this force.[2]

[1] Pliny's *Natural History*, Bk. xxxii, chap. v.

[2] Lactantius, a Christian writer of Constantine's time, like Pliny, much read in the Middle Ages, well illustrates the confusion of thought of which Whewell speaks. He is discussing the idea advanced by the

84. Francis Bacon proclaims the principles of modern scientific progress

While Roger Bacon had, in the thirteenth century, forecast the methods of modern science, it remained for Francis Bacon, some three centuries later, clearly to enunciate its principles in his little volume *Of the Advancement of Learning*, and in his more extensive and famous *Novum Organum*, which he dedicated to James I. In these works, from which the following extracts are taken, he harshly criticises the mediæval attitude toward natural science.

Weakness of the scholastic philosophers

Surely, like as many substances in nature which are solid do putrefy and corrupt into worms, so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrefy and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter and goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign among the schoolmen [i.e. scholastic philosophers]: who, having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety

philosophers that there may be men living on the opposite side of the globe. "How can there be any one so absurd as to think that men can have their feet higher than their heads; or that in those parts of the earth instead of resting on the ground things hang down; crops and trees grow downward; rain, snow, and hail fall upward on to the earth? Who indeed can wonder at the hanging gardens which are reckoned as one of the seven wonders when the philosophers would have us believe in hanging fields and cities, seas and mountains? . . .

"If you ask those who maintain these monstrous notions why everything does not fall off into the heavens on that side, they reply that it is of the nature of things that all objects having weight are borne toward the center, and that everything is connected with the center, like the spokes of a wheel; while light things, like clouds, smoke, and fire, are borne away from the center and seek the heavens. I scarce know what to say of such fellows, who when once they have wandered from truth persevere in their foolishness and defend their absurdities by new absurdities. Sometimes I imagine that their philosophizing is all a joke, or that they know the truth well enough and only defend these lies in a perverse attempt to exhibit and exercise their wit." — *Divinae Institutiones*, Lib. iii, sect. 24; Corp. Scrip. Eccl. Lat., XIX, pp. 254 *sq.*

of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit. . . .

Another error hath proceeded from too great a reverence, and a kind of adoration of the mind and understanding of man; by means whereof, men have withdrawn themselves too much from the contemplation of nature, and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reason and conceits. Upon these intellectualists, which are notwithstanding commonly taken for the most sublime and divine philosophers, Heraclitus gave a just censure, saying, "Men sought truth in their own little worlds, and not in the great common world"; for they disdain to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volume of God's works. . . .

Another error is an impatience of doubt, and haste to assertion without due and mature suspension of judgment. For the two ways of contemplation are not unlike the two ways of action commonly spoken of by the ancients: the one plain and smooth in the beginning, and in the end impossible; the other rough and troublesome in the entrance, and after a while fair and even: so it is in contemplation; if a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to begin with doubts, he shall end in certainties.

There is no soundness in our notions, whether logical or physical. Substance, quality, action, passion, essence itself are not sound notions; much less are heavy, light, dense, rare, moist, dry, generation, corruption, attraction, repulsion, element, matter, form, and the like; but all are fantastical and ill-defined. . . .

Religious opposition to science

It is not to be forgotten that in every age natural philosophy has had a troublesome adversary and hard to deal with, — namely, superstition and the blind and immoderate zeal of religion. For we see among the Greeks that those who first proposed to man's uninitiated ears the natural causes for thunder and for storms were thereupon found guilty of impiety. Nor was much more forbearance shown by some of the ancient fathers of the Christian Church to those who, on most convincing grounds (such as no one in his senses would now think of contradicting), maintained that the earth was round and, of consequence, asserted the existence of the antipodes.[1]

No conflict between science and religion

Lastly, some are weakly afraid lest a deeper search into nature should transgress the permitted limits of sober-mindedness, wrongfully wresting and transferring what is said in Holy Writ against those who pry into sacred mysteries to the hidden things of nature, which are barred by no prohibition. Others, with more subtlety, surmise and reflect that if secondary causes are unknown everything can be more readily referred to the divine hand and rod, — a point in which they think religion greatly concerned ; which is, in fact, nothing else but to seek to gratify God with a lie. Others fear from past example that movements and changes in philosophy will end in assaults on religion ; and others again appear apprehensive that in the investigation of nature something may be found to subvert, or at least shake, the authority of religion, especially with the unlearned.

But these two last fears seem to me to savor utterly of carnal wisdom ; as if men in the recesses and secret thoughts of their hearts doubted and distrusted the strength of religion, and the empire of faith over the senses, and therefore feared that the investigation of truth in nature might be dangerous to them. But if the matter be truly considered, natural philosophy is, after the word of God, at once the surest medicine against superstition and the most approved nourishment for faith ; and therefore she is rightly given to religion as her most faithful handmaid, since the one displays the will of God, the other his power. . . .

[1] See extract from Lactantius given above, p. 173, note.

. . . Again, in the customs and institutions of schools, academies, colleges, and similar bodies destined for the abode of learned men and the cultivation of learning, everything is found adverse to the progress of science. For the lectures and exercises there are so ordered that to think or speculate on anything out of the common way can hardly occur to any man. And if one or two have the boldness to use any liberty of judgment, they must undertake the task all by themselves; they can have no advantage from the company of others. And if they can endure this also, they will find their industry and largeness of mind no slight hindrance to their fortune. For the studies of men in these places are confined and, as it were, imprisoned in the writings of certain authors, from whom, if any man dissent, he is straightway arraigned as a turbulent person and an innovator. . . . In matters of state, change even for the better is distrusted, because it unsettles what is established; these things resting on authority, consent, fame, and opinion, not on demonstration; but arts and sciences should be like mines where the noise of new works and further advances is heard on every side. . . . No one has yet been found so firm of mind and purpose as resolutely to compel himself to sweep away all theories and common notions and to apply the understanding, thus made fair and even, to a fresh examination of particulars. Thus it happens that human knowledge, as we have it, is a mere medley and ill-digested mass, made up of much credulity and much accident, and also of the childish notions which we at first imbibed.

Universities opposed to scientific advance

Now if any one of ripe age, unimpaired senses, and well-purged mind apply himself anew to experience and particulars, better hopes may be entertained of that man. In which point I promised to myself a like fortune to that of Alexander the Great, who, according to Titus Livius, "had done no more than take courage to despise vain apprehensions." And a like judgment I suppose may be passed on myself in future ages: that I did no great things, but simply made less account of things that were counted great. In the meanwhile, as I have already said, there is no hope except in a new birth of science; that is, in raising it regularly up from experience, and building

Great hopes of experimental science

it afresh; which no one, I think, will say has yet been done or thought of.

The truly astonishing advances in natural science which antedate the French Revolution, and upon which the discoveries of the nineteenth century were based, are thus summed up by a brilliant French writer.

85. The scientific advance in the eighteenth century (adapted from Taine)

In pure mathematics we have infinitesimal calculus, discovered simultaneously by Leibnitz and Newton; in astronomy, the series of calculations and observations which, from Newton to Laplace, transforms science into a problem of mechanics, explains and predicts the movements of the planets and of their satellites, indicates the origin and formation of our solar system, and, extending beyond this through the discoveries of Herschel, affords an insight into the distribution of the stellar archipelagoes and of the grand outlines of celestial architecture.

Inorganic sciences

In physics we have the decomposition of light and the principles of optics discovered by Newton, the velocity of sound, the form of its undulations, the primary laws of the radiation of heat, the experiments by which Du Fay, Franklin, and especially Coulomb explain, manipulate, and for the first time utilize, electricity. In chemistry the chief foundations of the science were laid: isolation of oxygen, nitrogen, and hydrogen, the composition of water, the theory of combustion, chemical nomenclature, quantitative analysis, the indestructibility of matter, — in short, the discoveries of Scheele, Priestley, Cavendish, Lavoisier.

In geology we have the verification and results of Newton's theory, the exact form of the earth, the laws of the tides, the primitive fluidity of the planet, the aqueous and igneous origin of rocks, the structure of the beds of fossils, the repeated and prolonged submersion of continents, the slow growth of animal and vegetable deposits, the vast antiquity of life, the gradual transformation of the earth's surface, and, finally, the grand picture in which Buffon describes approximately the entire history of our globe from the time it formed a mass of glowing

lava down to the time when our own species, after so many lost or surviving ones, was able to inhabit it.

Organic sciences

Upon this science of inorganic matter we see arising at the same time the science of organic matter. Linnæus invents botanical nomenclature and the first satisfactory classifications of plants. Digestion is explained by Réaumur and Spallanzani, respiration by Lavoisier. Scientists penetrate to the lowest stages of animal life. Lyonnet devotes twenty years to portraying a species of caterpillar. Needham reveals his infusoria. Buffon and, above all, Lamarck, in their great but incomplete sketches, outline with penetrating divination the leading features of modern physiology and zoölogy. Organic molecules everywhere diffused, which multiply and combine with one another through blind and spontaneous development, without either foreign direction or any preconceived end, solely through the effects of their structure and surroundings, unite together and form those masterly organisms which we call plants and animals. In the beginning we have the simplest forms, followed by slowly developing, complex, and perfected organisms, — all indicated, by conjecture and approximation, the cellular theory of later physiologists and the conclusions of Darwin. In the picture of nature which the human mind now portrays, the science of the eighteenth century has drawn the general outline, and indicated the perspective and the general masses so correctly that at the present day all its main features remain intact. Except a few partial changes, there is nothing to efface.

Section 29. How the Scientific Discoveries produced a Spirit of Reform

Voltaire in his *Letters on the English*, which he published shortly after his return from England, thus speaks of the development of science under the influence of Bacon and Newton.

86. Voltaire on Francis Bacon

Not long since the following trite and frivolous question was debated in a very polite and learned company, namely, Who was the greatest man, Cæsar, Alexander, Tamerlane, Cromwell, etc.?

A test of true greatness

Somebody answered, that Sir Isaac Newton excelled them all. The gentleman's assertion was very just; for if true greatness consists in having received from heaven a mighty genius, and in having employed it to enlighten our own minds and that of others, a man like Sir Isaac Newton, whose equal is hardly found in a thousand years, is the truly great man. And those politicians and conquerors (and all ages produce some) have generally been so many illustrious wicked men. That man claims our respect who commands the minds of the rest of the world by the force of truth — not those who enslave their fellow-creatures; he who is acquainted with the universe — not they who deface it.

Since, therefore, you desire me to give you an account of the famous personages whom England has given birth to, I shall begin with Lord Bacon, Mr. Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, etc. Afterwards the warriors and ministers of state shall come in their order.

The extent of Bacon's labors

I must begin with the celebrated viscount Verulam, known in Europe by the name of Bacon, which was that of his family. His father had been Lord Keeper, and he himself was a great many years Lord Chancellor under King James the First. Nevertheless, amidst the intrigues of a court, and the affairs of his exalted employment, which alone were enough to engross his whole time, he yet found so much leisure for study as to make himself a great philosopher, a good historian, and an elegant writer; and a still more surprising circumstance is that he lived in an age in which the art of writing justly and elegantly was little known, much less true philosophy. Lord Bacon, as is the fate of man, was more esteemed after his death than in his lifetime. His enemies were in the British court, and his admirers were foreigners. . . .

The *Novum Organum*

The most singular and the best of all his pieces is that which, at this time, is the most useless and the least read, I mean his *Novum Scientiarum Organum*. This is the scaffold with which the new philosophy was raised; and when the edifice was built, — part of it at least, — the scaffold was no longer of service.

Lord Bacon was not yet acquainted with Nature, but then he knew, and pointed out, the several paths that lead to it.

He had despised in his younger years the thing called philosophy in the Universities; and did all that lay in his power to prevent those societies of men, instituted to improve human reason, from depraving it by their quiddities, their horror of the *vacuum*, their "substantial forms," and all those impertinent terms which not only ignorance had rendered venerable, but which had been made sacred by their being ridiculously blended with religion.

Bacon's contempt for philosophy

He is the father of experimental philosophy. It must be confessed that very surprising secrets had been found out before his time. The marine compass, printing, engraving on copper plates, oil painting, looking-glasses; the art of restoring, in some measure, old men to their sight by spectacles; gunpowder, etc., had been discovered. A new world had been sought for, found, and conquered. Would not one suppose that these sublime discoveries had been made by the greatest philosophers, and in ages much more enlightened than the present? But it was far otherwise; all these great changes happened in the most stupid and barbarous times. Chance only gave birth to most of these inventions; and it is very probable that what is called chance contributed very much to the discovery of America; at least it has been always thought that Christopher Columbus undertook his voyage merely on the story of a captain of a ship, which a storm had drove as far westward as the Caribbean Islands. Be this as it will, men had sailed round the world, and could destroy cities by an artificial thunder more dreadful than the real one: but then they were not acquainted with the circulation of the blood, the weight of the air, the laws of motion, light, the number of our planets, etc. And a man who maintained a thesis from Aristotle's *Categories*, on the universals *a parte rei* or such like nonsense, was looked upon as a prodigy. . . .

Bacon, the father of experimental philosophy

In a word, no one, before Lord Bacon, was acquainted with experimental philosophy, nor with the several physical experiments which have been made since his time. Scarce one of them but is hinted at in his work, and he himself had made several. He made a kind of pneumatic engine, by which he guessed the elasticity of the air. He approached, on all

sides as it were, to the discovery of its weight, and had very near attained it, but it was somewhat later that Torricelli[1] seized upon this truth. In a little time experimental philosophy began to be cultivated on a sudden in most parts of Europe. It was a hidden treasure which Lord Bacon had some notion of, and which all the philosophers, encouraged by his promises, endeavored to dig up.

Bacon anticipates Newton

But that which surprised me most was to read in his work, in express terms, the new attraction, the discovery of which is ascribed to Sir Isaac Newton. We must search, says Lord Bacon, whether there may not be a kind of magnetic power, which operates between the earth and heavy bodies, between the moon and the ocean, between the planets, etc. In another place he says that either heavy bodies must be carried towards the center of the earth or must be reciprocally attracted by it; and in the latter case it is evident that the nearer falling bodies draw towards the earth, the stronger they will attract one another.

Voltaire's mingling of jest and earnest is generally apparent in his discussion of theological matters. He felt that the fine distinctions made by the divines often obscured the main issue. Under "grace" he writes as follows:

87. Voltaire on grace

Ye sacred counselors of modern Rome, ye illustrious and infallible theologians, no one has more respect than I for your opinions. But were Paulus Æmilius, Scipio, Cato, Cicero, Cæsar, Titus, Trajan, or Marcus Aurelius to return to that Rome upon which they formerly cast some little glory, you will admit that they would be somewhat startled at your decisions respecting grace. What would they say if they should hear of St. Thomas's grace of health and of Cajetan's medicinal grace; of external and internal, free, sanctifying, actual, habitual, and coöperating grace; of effectual grace which is sometimes without effect; of sufficing grace which is often

[1] A friend of Galileo's who discovered the principle of the barometer in 1643.

insufficient; of versatile and congruous grace? Would they, in good faith, understand these any better than you and I do?

How completely at a loss would these poor people be without your exalted instruction. I seem to hear them say: "Reverend fathers, what stupendous genius is yours! We have been accustomed to think — absurdly enough, as it appears — that the Eternal Being never follows special laws as we lowly human creatures must, but his own general laws, eternal like himself. It never occurred to any of us that God was like a crazy master who gave a fortune to one slave and refused another his necessary food. . . .

"Everything from God is grace; he has conferred his grace on the globe we dwell upon by forming it; upon the trees the grace to grow; upon the beasts that of finding food. But if one wolf finds a lamb in his way to make a good meal of, and another wolf is famishing, shall we say that God has shown his special grace to the first wolf? Has he by 'preventing' grace been busied in causing one oak to grow preferably to another? . . .

"You miserable creatures! Lift up your eyes to the heavens: see the Eternal Artificer creating millions of worlds all gravitating toward one another by general and eternal laws! Behold the same light reflected from the sun to Saturn and from Saturn to us; and amidst this harmony of so many luminous bodies in a course as amazing as swift, amidst this general obedience of all nature, I defy you to believe that God is occupied with conferring versatile grace on Sister Theresa and concomitant grace on Sister Agnes." . . .

These, it must be remembered, are Marcus Aurelius's words, not mine; for God, who inspires you, has given me grace to believe all that you say, or have said, or shall say.

In his famous *Handy Philosophic Dictionary*, a little volume of essays on a variety of themes, published anonymously in 1764, Voltaire gives under the word "law" his ideas of the reform demanded in Church and State. It will be noted that he seems here to have no

quarrel with religion, but only with what he regards as the encroachments of the clergy on the rights of the State.

88. Voltaire's views of the relation of Church and State

No law made by the Church should ever have the least force unless expressly sanctioned by the government. It was owing to this precaution that Athens and Rome escaped all religious quarrels.

Such religious quarrels are the trait of barbarous nations or such as have become barbarous.

The civil magistrate alone may permit or prohibit labor on religious festivals, since it is not the function of the priest to forbid men to cultivate their fields.

Civil marriage

Everything relating to marriage should depend entirely upon the civil magistrate. The priests should confine themselves to the august function of blessing the union.

The Church's regulations regarding usury

Lending money at interest should be regulated entirely by the civil law, since trade is governed by civil law.

All ecclesiastics should be subject in every case to the government, since they are subjects of the state.

Payment of annates to the Pope

Never should the ridiculous and shameful custom be maintained of paying to a foreign priest the first year's revenue of land given to a priest by his fellow-citizens.

No priest can deprive a citizen of the least of his rights on the ground that the citizen is a sinner, since the priest — who is himself a sinner — should pray for other sinners, not judge them.

All should pay taxes

Officials, laborers, and priests should all alike pay the taxes of the state, since they all alike belong to the state.

Uniformity

There should be but one standard of weights and measures and one system of law.

Let the punishment of criminals be useful. A man when hanged is good for nothing: a man condemned to hard labor continues to serve his country and furnish a living lesson.

Every law should be clear, uniform, and precise. To interpret law is almost always to corrupt it.

Nothing should be regarded as infamous except vice.

The taxes should never be otherwise than proportional to the resources of him who pays.

Diderot and his collaborators succeeded in finishing and publishing seven volumes of their *Encyclopædia* during the years 1751–1757. Then came renewed troubles and the retirement of the discouraged D'Alembert. In 1765 Diderot finally completed the remaining ten volumes and issued them all together with the following preface, in which he sums up the aims of his work and the obstacles which he and his fellow-workers had had to overcome.

89. Diderot's preface to the last installment of the *Encyclopædia* (1765)

When we began this enterprise we looked forward only to those difficulties to which its extent and the variety of the subjects to be treated would give rise; but this proved to be a momentary illusion and we soon beheld the multitude of material obstacles which we had foreseen reënforced by an infinite number of intellectual hindrances for which we were in no way prepared. The world grows old, but in vain, for it does not change. Perhaps the individual may become better, but the mass of our species grows neither better nor worse. The sum of noxious passions remains the same, and the enemies of every good and useful thing are innumerable, as they always have been.

Persecution suffered by the Encyclopædists

Among all the various forms of persecution inflicted, in all times and among all peoples, upon those who have yielded to the dangerous temptation of endeavoring to inscribe their names on the list of benefactors of the human race, there are almost none which have not been directed against us. We have ourselves experienced every species of aspersion springing from envy, falsehood, ignorance, and bigotry of which history furnishes us any example. During twenty consecutive years we can look back to hardly a moment of rest. After days devoted to continuous and ungrateful labor, how many nights have we passed in apprehension of the evils with which malice threatened us! How often have we risen uncertain whether, yielding to the cries of slander, we should not tear ourselves away from our relatives, friends, and fellow-citizens to seek the necessary peace and protection tendered us beneath a foreign sky. But our country was dear to us and we continued to hope that

prejudice would give way to justice. Such, moreover, is the character of the man intent on good, and who is fully conscious of the righteousness of his purpose, that his courage is only increased by obstacles which he meets, while his innocence hides from him or leads him to despise the dangers which menace him. One with a high purpose experiences an enthusiasm of which the evil-minded can form no conception.

We have, moreover, met in a few others the same generous sentiments which have sustained us. All our colleagues have hastened to support us. When our enemies felicitated themselves upon having finally overwhelmed us, we found men of letters and men of affairs, who had previously contented themselves with encouraging or pitying us, coming to our aid and associating themselves with our work. Would that we might publish the names of all these capable and courageous allies, who well merit public recognition. . . .

Shortcomings of the work recognized

The public has already passed judgment on the first seven volumes; we ask only a similar indulgence for these. If they refuse to regard this *Encyclopædia* as a great and finished work, they will only be in agreement with ourselves, provided, however, that they do not go so far as to question our achievement in having at least prepared a mass of materials for such a work. . . . Thanks to what we have done, those who came after us will be able to go farther. Without attempting to determine what still remains to be done, we at least hand on to them the finest collection of apparatus for their purposes that has ever been brought together, — the plates dealing with the mechanical arts, the hitherto unexcelled descriptions accompanying them, and the vast mass of valuable information relating to all branches of science.

Compatriots and contemporaries, however harshly you may judge this work, remember that it was undertaken, continued, and completed by a little band of isolated men, thwarted in their designs, exhibited in the most odious light, slandered, and outraged in the most atrocious manner, without other encouragement than their devotion to the good, with the support of a very few sympathizers and the assistance which they owed to three or four men of business. . . .

Service of the *Encyclopædia* to education

No one will deny, I believe, that our work is on the level of our century, and that is something. The most enlightened person will find ideas there that are new to him and facts of which he was ignorant. May general education advance with such rapidity during the coming twenty years that there will be in a thousand of our pages scarce a line that will not then be known to everybody! It is the duty of the masters of the world to hasten this happy consummation. It is they who extend or contract the horizon of knowledge. Happy the time when they come to understand that their safety lies in ruling over educated men! Attacks on the lives of sovereigns have always been made by blind fanatics. How can we complain of our difficulties and regret our years of labor if we can flatter ourselves that we have done even a little to weaken this mad spirit which is so hostile to social peace, and have encouraged our fellow-beings to love one another, tolerate one another, and recognize the superiority of universal reason over all individual systems which can only inspire hate, animosity, and disorder, and which always sever or weaken the common bonds which hold mankind together?

Such has been our aim. The enterprise is at last finished, which our enemies have had the distinguished honor of bitterly hampering and opposing in every way in their power. If it has any merits they are not due to them; indeed, they may some day be held accountable for its defects. However this may be, we invite them to turn the pages of these last volumes; let them heap their most bitter criticisms on our work, and pour out upon us the vials of their wrath; we are ready to forgive them anything for a single good and valuable observation. If they will but acknowledge that we have exhibited a consistent respect and veneration for two things which make for social happiness, and are alone truly worthy to be extolled, — namely Virtue and Truth, — they will find us quite indifferent to their unkind imputations. . . .

Among Rousseau's writings the most permanently influential is his *Émile, or Education*.[1] This opens with

[1] There is an abridged translation by W. H. Payne of this interesting work, issued, in the International Educational Series (Appleton, 1893), in one volume.

his protest against the artificiality of the civilization which he saw about him, and his oft-repeated exhortation to return to nature as the safest guide.

90. Rousseau's summons to turn back to nature

All things are good as their Author made them, but everything degenerates in the hands of man. By man our native soil is forced to nourish plants brought from foreign regions, and one tree is made to bear the fruit of another. Man brings about a general confusion of elements, climates, and seasons; he mutilates his dogs, his horses, and his slaves; he defaces and confounds everything, and seems to delight only in monsters and deformity. He is not content with anything as Nature left it, not even with man, whom he must train for his service like a saddle horse, and twist in his own particular way like a tree in his garden.

Yet without this interference matters would be still worse than they are, for our species cannot remain half made over. As things now are, a man left to himself from his birth would, in his association with others, prove the most preposterous creature possible. The prejudices, authority, necessity, and example, and, in short, the vicious social institutions in which we find ourselves submerged, would stifle everything natural in him and yet give him nothing in return. He would be like a shrub which has sprung up by accident in the middle of the highway to perish by being thrust this way and that and trampled upon by passers-by. . . .

To form this rare creature, man, what have we to do? Much, doubtless, but chiefly to prevent anything being done. . . . In the natural order of things, all men being equal, their common vocation is manhood, and whoever is well trained for that cannot fulfill any vocation badly which demands manhood. Whether my pupil be destined for the army, the Church, or the bar, concerns me but little. Before he is called to the career chosen by his parents, Nature summons him to the duties of human life. To live is the trade I wish to teach him. . . . All our wisdom consists in servile prejudices; all our customs are but suggestion, anxiety, and constraint. Civilized man is born, lives, dies in a state of slavery. At his birth

he is sewed in swaddling clothes; at his death he is nailed in a coffin; and as long as he preserves the human form he is fettered by our institutions. It is said that nurses sometimes claim to give the infant's head a better form by kneading it, and we permit them to do this! It would appear that our heads were badly fashioned by the Author of Nature, and that they need to be made over outwardly by the midwife and inwardly by philosophers! The Caribbeans are more fortunate than we by half. . . . Observe Nature and follow the path she traces for you!

Rousseau closes his *Social Contract* with a chapter on "civil religion." Roman Catholic Christianity he regarded as very noxious to the State: even the Christianity that he discovered in the Gospels, which he professes to admire, did not, he believed, help to make good citizens, but rather, on the contrary, led them meekly to suffer tyranny.

91. Rousseau's deistic religion

Christianity is a purely spiritual religion, occupied solely with heavenly things; the country of a Christian is not of this world. He does his duty, it is true, but he does it with a profound indifference as to the good or ill success of his efforts. Provided he has nothing to reproach himself with, it matters little to him whether things go well or ill here below. If the state is flourishing, he scarcely dares enjoy the public felicity; he fears to become proud of the glory of his country. If the state degenerates, he blesses the hand of God which lies heavy upon his people. . . .

Should the depository of political power abuse it, the Christian regards this abuse as the rod with which God punishes his children. People would have scruples about driving out the usurper: it would be necessary to disturb the public repose, to use violence, to shed blood; all this accords ill with the gentleness of the Christian, and, after all, what matters it whether one is a slave or free in this vale of misery? The essential thing is to go to paradise, and resignation is but one more means to accomplish it.

Should some foreign war supervene, the citizens march to combat without difficulty. None among them think of flying; they do their duty, but without passion for victory; they know better how to die than to win. Whether they are victors or vanquished, what matters it? Does not Providence know better than they what they need? . . .

But I am in error in speaking of a Christian republic; each of these words excludes the other. Christianity preaches only servitude and dependence. Its spirit is too favorable to tyranny not to be taken advantage of by it. Christians are made to be slaves: they know it and do not care; this short life has too little value in their eyes. . . .

A civil religion

There is, however, a profession of faith purely civil, of which it is the sovereign's [i.e. the people's] duty to decide upon the articles, not precisely as dogmas of religion, but as sentiments of sociality without which it is impossible to be a good citizen or a faithful subject. Without being able to oblige any one to believe them, the sovereign can banish from the State whoever does not believe them; the sovereign should banish him, not as impious, but as unsocial, as incapable of loving law and justice sincerely, and of sacrificing at need his life to his duty. If any one, having publicly acknowledged these dogmas, conducts himself as if he did not acknowledge them, he should be punished with death; he has committed the greatest of crimes, — he has lied before the law.

The dogmas of Rousseau's religion

The dogmas of civil religion should be simple, few in number, announced with precision, without explanation or commentary. The existence of a powerful, intelligent, benevolent, prescient, and provident divinity, the life to come, the happiness of the just, the punishment of the wicked, the sacredness of the social contract and the law, — these are the positive dogmas.

Danger of intolerance

As to the negative dogmas, I limit them to one, — intolerance: it enters into the religions which we have excluded. Those who make a distinction between civil intolerance and theological intolerance deceive themselves, to my mind. These two intolerances are inseparable. It is impossible to live in peace with people whom one believes to be damned; to love them is to hate God, who punishes them; they must be

redeemed or else tortured. Wherever theological intolerance is admitted, it must have some civil effects; and as soon as it has them the sovereign is no more a sovereign, even in temporal matters. From that time priests are the true masters; kings are but their officers.

Montesquieu believed that the English owed their liberty to the fact that the three powers of government, namely the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary, were not in the same hands, as in some of the European States. This theory of the three powers, and of the necessity of keeping them separate, exercised a great influence upon those who drew up the Constitution of the United States.

92. Montesquieu's theory of the three powers (from *The Spirit of Laws*)

In every government there are three sorts of powers. . . . By virtue of the first, the prince, or magistrate, enacts temporary or perpetual laws, and amends or abrogates those that have been already enacted. By the second, he makes peace or war, sends or receives embassies, establishes the public security, and provides against invasions. By the third, he punishes criminals, or determines the disputes that arise between individuals. . . .

The political liberty of the subject is a tranquillity of mind due to the assurance each person has of his safety. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite that the government be so constituted that no man need be afraid of another.

When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty, because apprehensions may arise lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, and then execute them in a tyrannical manner.

Again, there is no liberty if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control; for the judge would be then the legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with violence and oppression.

There would be an end of everything, were the same man, or the same body, whether of the nobles or of the people, to exercise those three powers, — that of enacting laws, that of executing the public resolutions, and that of trying the suits of individuals.

Most kingdoms in Europe enjoy a moderate government, because the prince who is invested with the two first powers leaves the third to his subjects. In Turkey, where these three powers are united in the sultan's person, the subjects groan under the most dreadful oppression.

In the republics of Italy, where these three powers are united, there is less liberty than in our monarchies. Hence their government is obliged to have recourse to as violent methods for its support as even that of the Turks; witness the state inquisitors, and the lion's mouth into which every informer may at all hours throw his written accusations.

In what a situation must the poor subject be, under those republics! The same body of magistrates are possessed, as executors of the laws, of the whole power they have given themselves in the quality of legislators. They may plunder the State by their general determinations; and, as they have likewise the judiciary power in their hands, every private citizen may be ruined by their particular decisions.

The whole power is here united in one body; and though there is no external pomp that indicates a despotic sway, yet the people feel the effects of it every moment.

Hence it is that many of the princes of Europe, whose aim has been arbitrary power, have constantly set out with uniting in their own persons all the branches of magistracy and all the great offices of State.

The following extracts from Beccaria's *Treatise upon Crimes and Punishments* give an admirable idea of the clearness and cogency of his reasoning and the simplicity and directness of his style.

What are in general the proper punishments for crimes? Is the punishment of death really useful or necessary for the safety

or good order of society? Are tortures and torments consistent with justice, or do they answer the end proposed by the laws? Which is the best method of preventing crimes? Are the same punishments equally useful at all times? What influence have they on morals? These problems should be solved with that geometrical precision which the mist of sophistry, the seduction of eloquence, and the timidity of doubt are unable to resist.

93. Extracts from Beccaria's *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments*

If I have no other merit than that of having first presented to my country with a greater degree of evidence what other nations have written and are beginning to practice, I shall account myself fortunate; but if, by supporting the rights of mankind and of invincible truth, I shall contribute to save from the agonies of death one unfortunate victim of tyranny or of ignorance, equally fatal, his blessing and tears of transport will be a sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of mankind. . . .

It is evident that the intent of punishments is not to torment a sensitive being nor to undo a crime already committed. Is it possible that torments and useless cruelty, the instruments of furious fanaticism or of the impotency of tyrants, can be authorized by a political body which, so far from being influenced by passion, should be the cool moderator of the passions of individuals? Can the groans of a tortured wretch recall the time past or reverse the crime he has committed?

The end of punishment therefore is no other than to prevent others from committing the like offense. Such punishments, therefore, and such a mode of inflicting them ought to be chosen as will make strongest and most lasting impressions on the minds of others with the least torment to the body of the criminal. . . .

Use of torture

The torture of a criminal during the course of his trial is a cruelty consecrated by custom in most nations. It is used with an intent either to make him confess his crime or explain some contradictions into which he has been led during his examination; or discover his accomplices; or for some kind of metaphysical and incomprehensible purgation of infamy; or finally, in order to discover other crimes of which he is not accused, but of which he may be guilty.

No man can be judged a criminal until he be found guilty; nor can society take from him the public protection until it has been proved that he has violated the conditions on which it was granted. What right, then, but that of mere power can authorize the punishment of a citizen so long as there remains any doubt of his guilt? The following dilemma is a frequent one! Either he is guilty or not guilty. If guilty, he should only suffer the punishment ordained by the laws, and torture becomes useless, as his confession is unnecessary. If he be not guilty, you torture the innocent; for in the eye of the law every man is innocent whose crime has not been proved. . . .

A very strange but necessary consequence of the use of torture is that the plight of the innocent is worse than that of the guilty. With regard to the first, either he confesses the crime which he has not committed and is condemned, or he is acquitted and has suffered a punishment he did not deserve. On the contrary, the person who is really guilty has the most favorable side of the question; for if he supports the torture with firmness and resolution, he is acquitted and is the gainer, having exchanged a greater punishment for a less. . . .

Arguments against capital punishment

The punishment of death is pernicious to society from the examples of barbarity it affords. If the passions or the necessity of war have taught men to shed the blood of their fellow-creatures, the laws, which are intended to moderate the ferocity of mankind, should not increase it by examples of barbarity, — the more horrible since this punishment is usually attended with formal pageantry. Is it not absurd that the laws which detect and punish homicide should, in order to prevent murder, publicly commit murder themselves?

What are the true and most useful laws? Those compacts and conditions which all would propose and observe in those moments when private interest is silent or combined with that of the public. What are the natural sentiments of every person concerning the punishment of death? We may read them in the contempt and indignation with which every one looks on the executioner, who is nevertheless an innocent executor of the public will, a good citizen who contributes to the advantage of society, the instrument of the general security within as good

soldiers are without. What, then, is the origin of this contradiction? Why is this sentiment of mankind indelible, however one may reason? It is because in a secret corner of the mind, in which the original impressions of nature are still preserved, men discover a sentiment which tells them that their lives are not lawfully in the power of any one, but of that necessity only which with its iron scepter rules the universe. . . .

If it be objected that almost all nations in all ages have punished certain crimes with death, I answer that the force of these examples vanishes when opposed to truth against which prescription is urged in vain. The history of mankind is an immense sea of errors in which a few obscure truths may here and there be found. . . . That some societies only, either few in number or for a very short time, have abstained from the punishment of death is rather favorable to my argument, for such is the fate of great truths that their duration is only as a flash of lightning in the long dark night of error. The happy time has not yet arrived when truth, as falsehood has been hitherto, shall be the portion of the greatest number.

The past full of mistakes

I am sensible that the voice of one philosopher is too weak to be heard amidst the clamors of a multitude blindly influenced by custom; but there is a small number of sages scattered on the face of the earth who will echo me from the bottom of their hearts; and if these truths should happily force their way to the thrones of princes, be it known to them that they come attended with the secret wishes of all mankind; and tell the sovereign that deigns them a gracious reception that his fame shall outshine the glory of conquerors, and that equitable posterity will exalt his peaceful trophies above those of a Titus, an Antoninus, or a Trajan.

The benevolent despots

How happy were mankind if laws were now to be first formed, now that we see on the thrones of Europe benevolent monarchs, friends to the virtues of peace, to the arts and sciences, fathers of their people, though crowned, yet citizens; the increase of whose authority augments the happiness of their subjects by destroying that intermediate despotism which intercepts the prayers of the people to the throne. If these humane princes have suffered the old laws to subsist, it is doubtless because

they are disturbed by the numberless obstacles which oppose the subversion of errors by the sanction of many ages; and therefore every wise citizen will wish for the increase of their authority. . . .

Would you prevent crimes? Let the laws be clear and simple; let the entire force of the nation be united in their defense; let them be intended rather to favor every individual than any particular classes of men; let the laws be feared and the laws only. . . .

From what I have written, results the following general theorem of considerable utility, though not conformable to Custom, the common legislator of nations: *That a punishment may not be an act of violence, of one or of many, against a private member of society; it should be public, immediate, and necessary; the least possible in the case given; proportioned to the crime, and determined by the laws.*

The development of political economy in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the reasons that led men to study it are described by the Abbé Morellet, a man of letters who wrote a pamphlet in 1764 to defend the liberty of writing, against a declaration of the French government issued in that year, forbidding any one to print or sell anything dealing with or criticising the financial policy of the king's ministers.

94. The development of political economy in the eighteenth century

Do we know everything? Are we as well off as we can be? These are the questions that should have been asked before issuing a decree of silence against all discussions relating to the administration. If we were quite sure that we had discovered the true principles of that very important science called political economy, we ought still to permit people to write, if for no other reason than to defend these principles against their obscuration by a taste for mere novelty, the natural restlessness of the human mind, and the passing whims of the government officials. Nevertheless, if all the principles of political economy were well established, the government might justify, in a tolerably plausible way, their law of silence by urging that

since the State and the people are in a good condition, it is useless to look for better things, which mankind may perhaps never attain to.

But there are no States which are not as yet infinitely remote from this happy condition; and we may safely say that the chief obstacle which stands in the way of their reaching it is the very ignorance of the true principles of government, and the bad laws that this same ignorance has begotten. The proof that this ignorance exists is to be sought, I believe, in the obscurity which still envelops a great part of the terms of which the science of political economy is continually obliged to make use. So far as I can see, we attach in our language no definite and precise ideas to the words "commerce," "wealth," "traffic," "credit," "luxury," "liberty," "property," etc. A few persons, I am quite willing to concede, may have a right notion of the meaning of these abstract terms; it must, however, be admitted that their meaning is not familiar to all or generally accepted; and how can the principles of a science be well understood and established so long as its terms are neither clear nor fixed? . . .

If we look for the reasons for our ignorance, we shall readily discover two very important ones which well justify what we are saying of the necessity of writing on these vital questions. The first of these is the extreme difficulty of the problems raised by political economy; the second is the newness of this study not only in France but among all the most enlightened nations.

Difficulty of the subject of political economy

We venture to say at the very start that the search for the true principles of political economy is one of the most difficult and complicated objects of human pursuit. There is no economic question that does not present a vast number of aspects at the same moment, and no measure can be adopted in this field without its consequences affecting the whole body politic. A law relating to finance or commerce influences agriculture, navigation, population, industry, etc. This multitude of relations may well cause a law that appears expedient for such and such an object to be very prejudicial in other respects. Surrounded by these difficulties, how can the mind reach the truth unless it is assisted in its investigations, and

aided in every possible way in clearing up its uncertainties. But where is such aid to be sought so abundantly as in printed books, in the education which these serve to disseminate, and in the men who form their opinions from reading them?

Political economy a new study

I have already called attention to the fact that this branch of knowledge has only been cultivated for a very short period. It is well known that before the last century commerce, in the widest sense of that word, was not regarded as in any way an affair of the State. The ancient authors scarcely advert to it at all. Xenophon, who touches upon the matter, doubts whether it has any advantage for the State, and Plato excludes it from his ideal republic. Even the Italians of past centuries have not discussed the subject, and as we descend the centuries and reach those nearest us it becomes clear how recent are the first works dealing with political economy.

Very few antedate John de Witt, who wrote in the middle of the last century. The first English economic works belong to the same period. In France, one of the first where one finds sound conclusions is the *Détail de la France* of Boisguillebert, published in 1695. From that time to the middle of our century there were only a few works in this field, and these remained unknown, if we except Melon's *Essay on Commerce* in 1730. Finally, about 1750, the publication of Cantillon's excellent *Essay on Commerce in General*, some translations from the English, such as Child's book edited by the late M. de Gournay (as well as a few other works composed or published at the instigation of that worthy official), served as a signal for the development of the subject in France. Our knowledge in this field is thus so recent that it is quite impossible to conclude that enough has already been written.

Of course it will be pointed out that a great number of economic works have been published during the past ten years in which many important truths have been set forth. While I am far from grudging the writers of these works the tribute of esteem and gratitude which they deserve for applying themselves to the study of those truths which it is especially important for men to know, I still venture to ask whether in spite of all these useful books enough has already been said. . . .

The doctrine of economic liberty

I am aware that according to some writers of repute our century has taken a great step forward in raising commercial liberty to the rank of a principle and condemning accordingly all economic laws which interfere with the rights of property and freedom in industrial enterprises. It is maintained that this truth alone, when properly developed, with all its necessary consequences, would almost suffice by itself as a guide for the government. I, too, believe that this principle of economic liberty is a faithful guide which will never mislead, but it cannot, nevertheless, by itself, serve sufficiently to illuminate the path which the government should follow. It is a long way from a recognition of this one principle, true as it may be, to a complete system of political economy. . . .

Political economy and social reform

The determination of the best basis for the taxes and the best way to collect them, the discovery of the laws best adapted to lessen gradually and finally prevent those monstrous inequalities in wealth, that destructive vice of all States, — the solution of these and many other problems not less important do not depend upon this principle of commercial freedom, but upon an analytical knowledge of the whole organization of society and a complete theory of political economy. Now, so long as such a theory has not yet been formulated, the science will not have attained such a degree of perfection as it demands. The system upon which the social world is constructed must be discovered and set forth as Copernicus and Newton have discovered that of the physical universe. This problem must be solved ere the science of political economy can be said to have been completed, and we do not hesitate to repeat that it still remains unsolved.

CHAPTER X

THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Section 30. Reforms of Frederick II, Catherine II, Joseph II, and Charles III

Riesbeck (1750–1786), a German writer of some note, has left an interesting and amusing account of Germany in his time. He thus describes the manner in which the duke of Würtemberg, after a life of self-indulgence, announced at the age of fifty that he proposed to mend his ways and become a typical benevolent despot.

95. How the duke of Würtemberg determined to become a benevolent despot

In 1778 this worthy prince took the opportunity of his birthday to publish a manifesto of which the following is the substance: "Being a man, and, from the condition of my nature, far removed from the standard of perfection, and likely to remain so, it could not but fall out that, partly from the weakness incidental to human nature, and partly from the want of sufficient sagacity, and other causes, many events should have taken place, which, had they not happened, things would have been very different from what they now are, or are likely to be hereafter. This I acknowledge freely, as it is the duty of every upright-thinking mind to do, and the consideration of it reminds me of duties obligatory for every man, but still more so for the anointed of the Lord upon earth.

"I consider this day, in which I have entered into my fiftieth year, as beginning the second period of my existence. I assure my loving subjects that every successive year of life which it shall please Divine Providence to bestow, shall be dedicated to the promotion of their happiness. Henceforward shall the

prosperity of Würtemberg be established on the joint and firm basis of the sovereign's love for his people and of the people's confidence in the affection of their sovereign. A subject who thinks as he ought to do, will see that many circumstances must arise in which the good of the individual must give way to the good of the whole, and will not murmur if things do not always take the turn which he would have wished them to do. We trust that every man will, for the future, live in the confidence that he has a provident and anxious father in his prince — yes, may the contest who shall do most to make his native country happy, be from this day forth the only contest that ever arises between us."

The duke is now quite a philosopher; he founds schools, he farms, cultivates arts and sciences, and establishes manufactures; in short, he endeavors in every way possible to make up for what has been wrong.

Many causes had contributed to lead this prince astray in the earlier parts of life, and to give his mind, which was naturally a lively and impetuous one, a false direction. Amongst the foremost we may reckon the fashion of the times, the bad examples set him by the courts of Mannheim and Dresden, the taste for false magnificence, which he had acquired in Italy, and the corruption of those who surrounded him, many of whom, I am ashamed to say it, were French. These were the causes of that dissipation of which Europe has heard so much.

The consequences were such as might naturally have been foreseen, — debt, oppressive taxes, resistance on the part of the estates of the country, and finally a commission of inquiry issued by the imperial court. The debts, upon examination, were found to amount to 1,200,000 livres. The evil counselors, you may think, were removed; but this would have done little but for the change which about this time took place in most of the lesser courts of the empire, the princes of which, from being oppressive and expensive tyrants, suddenly contracted a taste for political economy and philosophical pursuits. Into these the duke ran with as much ardor as he had formerly done into juvenile dissipation.

Frederick the Great has left a very clear and excellent statement of his conception of a monarch's duties and responsibilities.

96. Frederick the Great's description of a king's duties and responsibilities

With respect to the true monarchical government, it is the best or the worst of all others, according as it is administered.

We have remarked that men have granted preëminence to one of their equals, in expectation that he should do them certain services. These services consist in the maintenance of the laws, a strict execution of justice, an employment of his whole powers to prevent any corruption of manners, and defending the State against its enemies. It is the duty of this magistrate to pay attention to agriculture; it should be his care that provisions for the nation should be in abundance, and that commerce and industry should be encouraged. He is a perpetual sentinel, who must watch the acts and the conduct of the enemies of the State. His foresight and prudence should form timely alliances, which should be made with those who might most conduce to the interest of the realm.

By this short abstract the various branches of knowledge which each article in particular requires will be perceived. To this must be added a profound study of the local situation of that country which it is the magistrate's duty to govern, and a perfect knowledge of the genius of the nation; for the sovereign who sins through ignorance is as culpable as he who sins through malice: the first is the guilt of idleness, the latter of a vicious heart; but the evil that results to society is the same.

Princes and monarchs, therefore, are not invested with supreme authority that they may, with impunity, riot in debauchery and voluptuousness. They are not raised by their fellow-citizens in order that their pride may pompously display itself and contemptuously insult simplicity of manners, poverty, and wretchedness. Government is not intrusted to them that they may be surrounded by a crowd of useless people whose idleness engenders every vice. . . .

The sovereign is attached by indissoluble ties to the body of the State; hence it follows that he, by repercussion, is affected by all the ills which afflict his subjects; and the people, in like

manner, suffer from the misfortunes which affect their sovereign. There is but one general good, which is that of the State. If the monarch lose his provinces, he is no longer able, as formerly, to assist his subjects. If misfortune has obliged him to contract debts, they must be liquidated by the poor citizens; and, in return, if the people are not numerous, and if they are oppressed by poverty, the sovereign is destitute of all resource. These are truths so incontestable that there is no need to insist on them further.

The interest of the monarch and of his State identical

I once more repeat, the sovereign represents the State; he and his people form but one body, which can only be happy as far as united by concord. The prince is to the nation he governs what the head is to the man; it is his duty to see, think, and act for the whole community, that he may procure it every advantage of which it is capable. If it be intended that a monarchical should excel a republican government, sentence is pronounced on the sovereign. He must be active, possess integrity, and collect his whole powers, that he may be able to run the career he has commenced. Here follow my ideas concerning his duties.

Frederick's notion of a prince's duties

He ought to procure exact and circumstantial information of the strength and weakness of his country, as well relative to pecuniary resources as to population, finance, trade, laws, and the genius of the nation which he is appointed to govern. If the laws are good, they will be clear in their definitions; otherwise chicanery will seek to elude their spirit to its advantage, and arbitrarily and irregularly determine the fortunes of individuals. Lawsuits ought to be as short as possible, to prevent the ruin of the litigants, who consume in useless expenses what is justly and duly their right. This branch of government cannot be too carefully watched, that every possible barrier may be opposed to the avidity of judges and counselors. All persons should be kept within the limits of their duty by occasional visits into the provinces. Whoever imagines himself to be injured will venture to make his complaints to the commission, and those who are found to be guilty of corruption ought to be severely punished. It is perhaps superfluous to add that the penalty ought never to exceed the

crime; that violence ought never to supersede law; and that it were better the sovereign should be too merciful than too severe. . . .

Importance of public finance

But neither politics nor the army can prosper if the finances are not kept in the greatest order, and if the prince himself be not a prudent economist. Money is like the wand of the necromancer, for by its aid miracles are performed. Grand political views, the maintenance of the military, and the best conceived plans for the ease of the people will all remain in a lethargic state if not animated by money. . . .

Taxes must be laid to pay public servants

No government can exist without taxation, which is equally necessary to the republic and to the monarchy. The sovereign who labors in the public cause must be paid by the public; likewise the judge, that he may have no need to be corrupt. The soldier must be supported that he may commit no violence for want of having whereon to subsist. In like manner, it is necessary that those persons who are employed in collecting the revenues should receive such salaries as may not lay them under any temptation to rob the public. These various expenses demand very considerable sums, and to these must still be added money that should be laid apart to serve solely for extraordinary exigencies.

Taxes should be just

This money must all necessarily be levied on the people, and the grand art consists in levying so as not to oppress. That taxes may be equally and not arbitrarily laid on, surveys and registers should be made by which, if the people are properly classed, the money will be proportionate to the income of the persons paying. This is a thing so necessary that it would be an unpardonable fault in finance if ill-imposed taxes should disgust the husbandman with his labors. Having performed his duties it is necessary that he and his family should afterward live in a certain degree of ease. . . .

The monarch is only the first servant of the State, who is obliged to act with probity and prudence, and to remain as totally disinterested as if he were each moment liable to render an account of his administration to his fellow-citizens. Thus he is culpable if he be prodigal of the money of the people, dispersing the produce of the taxes in luxury, pomp, or licentiousness.

It is for him to watch over morals, which are the guardians of the laws, and to improve the national education and not pervert it by ill examples.

The king should aid the unfortunate

As the sovereign is properly the head of a family of citizens, the father of his people, he ought on all occasions to be the last refuge of the unfortunate; to be the parent of the orphan and the husband of the widow; to have as much pity for the lowest wretch as for the greatest courtier; and to shed his benefactions over those who, deprived of all other aid, can only find succor in his benevolence.

Such, according to the principles which we established at the beginning of this essay, is the most accurate conception we can form of the duties of a sovereign, and the only manner which can render monarchical government good and advantageous.

Frederick the Great was accustomed to examine personally, and briefly suggest the reply to, many of the petitions sent in to his ministers. The spirit of his government is apparent in the marginal notes he made on the following:

97. Comments of Frederick the Great on various petitions

Petition from Simon, merchant and commercial counselor at Stettin, to be allowed to purchase the estate of Kraatzen for 40,000 thalers.

[*In the king's own writing*]

Forty thousand thalers invested in commerce will bring in 8 per cent, in landed property only 4. So this man does not understand his own business. A cobbler should continue a cobbler; a merchant should think of his trade, and not of buying estates.

Petition from the town of Frankfort-on-Oder, against the quartering of troops upon them.

Why, it cannot be otherwise. Do they think that I can put the regiment into my pocket? The barracks shall be rebuilt.

Petition from the bakers at Potsdam, that corn from the public magazines may be allowed them.

They have had above 500 measures already. *Ce sont des Canailles*. Have them up before the magistrate!

Petition from the stocking weaver Esche for the sum of 3200 thalers, due to him on Saxon revenue bonds.

Paciencia!

Petition from Colonel I——t that he may be stationed in Silesia, as he intends to purchase estates in that province.

That is the very reason why he must not be stationed in Silesia. He would improve the estates and neglect the service.

Petition from the inhabitants of Potsdam, to assist them in paying a contribution of 32,000 thalers levied by the Austrians.

Let them look to paying their own debts. I shall not give that rascally rabble a single groschen.

Petition from the Kammerherr Baron von Müller for leave to visit the baths at Aix-la-Chapelle.

What would he do there? He would gamble away the little money he has left, and come back like a beggar.

Renewed petition from Baron von Müller for leave to visit the baths.

Let him go to the devil!

Petition for the expenses of receiving and entertaining their Highnesses of Brunswick on their visit in Prussia, 700 thalers.

Pay it this once, but it is a scandalous robbery. Another time I shall send a person to keep the accounts.

Petition from the creditors of the Count Giannini that the delegated *Judicium* which had been granted at their request may be suspended.

The administration of justice in my dominions shall in no way be infringed upon, because the laws must govern all.

Petition from the sickly son of the deceased Colonel von Platho, entreating some pension or provision.

Why, how can I provide for all the halt and the blind?

Complaint of the Privy Councilor von Brandt that several of the colonists whom he sent from Ulm have

He sent me people who had been actors and hairdressers. Such persons are of no use in tilling land.

returned much dissatisfied with their treatment.

Petition from Forstmeister von Poser that his son may not be forcibly carried off to the military profession.

He will be better educated in a regiment than in a village.

Petition from Countess Paradis that her son, now in the Bavarian army, may receive a commission in the Prussian army, with the view that the stricter discipline may wean him from his drunken habits.

I look out for good officers, but the debauched ones I send packing. Such people of whatever rank I think no acquisition to my service.

Petition from the merchant Hintze for permission to import 10,000 cwt. of copper, duty free.

Give him a round refusal.

Petition from the apprentice mason Eichel for admission to the rights of master mason at Berlin.

He may be admitted if there are not master masons enough already, and if he be not as idle as the Berlin ones.

Petition from the Jew, Meyer Benjamin, at Magdeburg, for admission to equal privileges with Christian tradesmen.

Let the Jew immediately take himself away from Magdeburg, or the commandant shall kick him out.

Petition from Du Moulin (lately major in the army) for the place of the deceased Kriegesrath Tschirner at the Pomeranian Chamber.

That would be appointing a goat for gardener!

Petition from General von Dierecke that his brother-in-law, von Gravenitz, may have leave to marry the daughter of Ober-Inspector Glaser.

Fie! How can he propose such a thing?

Petition from Privy Councilor von Brandt for the payment of his account — postage

I shall send him no money to help his writing. He already writes his fingers off. Let him

of letters amounting to 113 thalers.

write me what is really needful, and not so much useless stuff that gives me no information.

Petition from Cornet von Ortzen that he may be permitted to visit the baths of Carlsbad for the recovery of his hearing.

Carlsbad can do nothing for one's ears.

Petition from the Pastor Pels at Bernau for a yearly pension of 150 thalers, as he finds that he cannot subsist on his stipend of 186.

The Apostles did not thirst after lucre. They have preached in vain; Herr Pels has no apostolic soul, and does not hold the things of this world as things of nought.

Petition from Landrath von Wobeser for compensation on account of the burning of his house and other losses he suffered at the bombardment of Custrin.

At the Day of Judgment every man will receive again whatever he has lost in this life.

Petition from the Ober-Auditor G. at Berlin, complaining of the appointment of Ober-Auditor Reinecke as general auditor, and stating his own claims as the senior of all the ober-auditors, and as having served the State for thirty years.

I have in my stable a parcel of old mules, who have served me a long while, but I have not yet found any of them apply to be made Superintendents of the Stable.

98. Extract from a manifesto of Catherine II promising reforms (July, 1762)

A few days after the assassination of her husband, Peter III, Catherine II, who now had the power in her own hands, issued the following pious and reassuring proclamation to her people.

Humbly adoring the degrees of Divine Providence, we assure our faithful subjects that we will not fail by night and by day

to invoke the Most High to bless our scepter and enable us to wield it for the maintenance of our orthodox religion, the security and defense of our dear native country, and the support of justice; as well as to put an end to all miseries, iniquities, and violences by strengthening and fortifying our heart for the public good.

And as we ardently wish to prove effectually how far we merit the mutual love of our people, for whose happiness we acknowledge our throne to be appointed, we solemnly promise on our imperial word to make such arrangements in the empire that the government may be endued with an intrinsic force to support itself within limited and proper bounds; and each department of the State be provided with wholesome laws and regulations sufficient to maintain good order therein at all times and under all circumstances.

By which means we hope to establish hereafter the empire and our sovereign power (however they may have been formerly weakened) in such a manner as to comfort the discouraged hearts of all true patriots. We do not in the least doubt that our loving subjects will, as well for the salvation of their own souls as for the good of religion, inviolably observe the oath which they have sworn to us in the presence of Almighty God; we thereupon pledge them our imperial favor.

Catherine's anxiety to induce d'Alembert, the French scientist and an editor of the *Encyclopædia*, to come to Russia, to act as her son's tutor is shown in the following letter:

99. Catherine II urges d'Alembert to become tutor of her son (1762)

I have just received the answer you wrote to M. Odar, in which you refuse to transplant yourself in order to assist in the education of my son. I easily conceive that it costs a philosopher like you nothing to despise what the world calls grandeur and honor: these are, in your eyes, very little; and I can readily agree that they are so. Considering things in this light, there would be nothing great in the behavior of Queen Christina (of Sweden), which has been so highly extolled, and often censured with more justice.

But to be born and called to contribute to the happiness, and even the instruction of a whole nation, and yet decline it, is, in my opinion, refusing to do that good which you wish to do. Your philosophy is founded in a love to mankind: permit me then to tell you, that to refuse to serve mankind, whilst it is in your power, is to miss your aim. I know too well that you are a good man, to ascribe your refusal to vanity.

I know that the sole motive of it is the love of ease, and leisure to cultivate letters and the friendship of those you esteem. But what is there in this objection? Come with all your friends; I promise both them and you every convenience and advantage that depends upon me; and perhaps you will find more liberty and ease here than in your native country.

You refused the invitation of the king of Prussia, notwithstanding your obligations to him; but that prince has no son. I own to you that I have the education of my son so much at heart, and I think you so necessary to it, that perhaps I press you with too much earnestness. Excuse my indiscretion, for the sake of the occasion of it; and be assured that it is my esteem for you that makes me so urgent.

CATHERINE

MOSCOW, Nov. 3, 1762

In this whole letter I have argued only from what I have found in your writings: you would not contradict yourself.

A letter from the English ambassador, Harris, written in 1778, gives his impressions of Catherine II and her court:

PETERSBURG, 16th January, 1778

My dear Sir:

100. An Englishman's impressions of Catherine II and her court (1778)

. . . Prepared even as I was for the magnificence and parade of this court, yet it exceeds in everything my ideas: to this is joined the most perfect order and decorum. The empress herself unites, in the most wonderful manner, the talents of putting those she honors with her conversation at their ease, and of keeping up her own dignity. Her character extends throughout her whole administration; and although she is rigidly obeyed, yet she has introduced a lenity in the mode of government to

which, till her reign, this country was a stranger. . . . I have not been here long enough to write with any degree of precision on the several characters which compose the court and first society here. Great luxury and little morality seem to run through every rank. Flattery and servility characterize the inferior class, presumption and pride the higher one. A slight though brilliant varnish covers in both the most illiterate and uninformed minds. Their entertainments, their apartments, and the number of their domestics are quite Asiatic; and what is very odd, though perhaps very natural, although they imitate the foreigners in everything, and have (I speak of the higher class) neither customs nor character of their own, yet, generally speaking, a stranger is ill received when he comes among them. I, however, am very far from laying myself this imputation at their door, since I have experienced, as well as Mrs. Harris and my sister, every possible civility from them. . . .

Asiatic character of Russian society

The immense extent of the Russian empire and the security of its frontiers doubtless render it a desirable ally and almost an inaccessible enemy. The various articles of commerce the rest of Europe must necessarily fetch from hence, and the very few which this country need receive from them, insures its independence and wealth. Russia, therefore, incontestably stands very high among the European powers, but it may be controverted whether it can come up to the high reputation it enjoys, or to the superiority it assumes. The advantages just mentioned are merely the effects of situation; they existed before this people were civilized, and will remain with them if they ever should return to that state of barbarity from which they have so recently emerged.

To give an empire preëminence abroad, its political system should be uniform, wise, and steady. To make it respectable at home, fixed rules of interior policy should be established, and their administration should be secure and uncorrupted. I must confess, my lord, since my residence here, my researches after such a system and such rules have been fruitless; and it is in vain that I have attempted to discover on what those high-flown encomiums of this government, which everywhere met my ear, were founded.

Character of the Russian government

Character of Catherine II

In an absolute monarchy everything depends on the disposition and character of the sovereign: my principal object, therefore, has been to investigate that of the empress, and, as well from my own observations as from the relations of unprejudiced and well-informed men, it appears to me that she has a masculine force of mind, obstinacy in adhering to a plan and intrepidity in the execution of it; but she wants the more manly virtues of deliberation, forbearance in prosperity, and accuracy of judgment, while she possesses, in a high degree, the weaknesses vulgarly attributed to her sex, — love of flattery and its inseparable companion, vanity, an inattention to unpleasant but salutary advice, and a propensity to voluptuousness, which leads her to excesses that would debase a female character in any sphere of life.

Review of Catherine II's reign

If we recapitulate the events of the sixteen years which have elapsed since her accession, they will, I believe, on a fair and candid inquiry, appear to be in great measure the effects of such a character. On tracing her operations in Poland we shall find that, after having given a king to that country, on no very laudable motive, she, by sometimes supporting his measures too violently, and at others by not supporting them at all, reduced that republic to a state of despair and anarchy, which, in the first instance, brought on herself the Turkish war, and, in its consequences, forced her into a connection that induced her to make a most unjustifiable treaty, which, besides leaving an indelible blot on her reign, has added force to the only two powers from whom she had anything to apprehend, and left them in future an influence in the Polish affairs equal to her own. What other evils the Turkish war may produce it is difficult to foresee; the events are still depending, and that peace, which at first appeared as glorious as it was unexpected, has only proved an armed truce, and given time to the sinews of this country to relax and be enervated. . . .

Revolt of the Cossacks and serfs (1774)

If we turn our reflections to the interior administration of government, I fear the result of them will not be more advantageous. A mistaken lenity, arising either from fear or indolence, has subverted the great purposes of law and justice. The great men oppress their inferiors wantonly; the inferiors pilfer and

steal in security. From a conviction of this remissness, and from the special pretext of the cruelty of their lords, we have seen a rebellion break out in the heart of the empire, which, had it been led by men of judgment or courage, would have shaken it to its foundations. No troops were ready to make head against it; a panic had seized half the country; and the same spirit of sedition which animated Pugatscheff had infected the rest. He was within a few days' march of Moscow, and the court was near retreating to Riga, when, from want of resolution and conduct, he was defeated and tranquillity restored to the empire. The sparks of discontent, however, are not yet extinguished, and it is much to be apprehended that, in case of any national calamity, they would blow out afresh.

Joseph II, immediately after he became, in 1765, emperor and co-regent, with his mother, Maria Theresa, of the Austrian dominions, drew up a statement of his ideas of government from which a few extracts are given below.

101. Joseph II gives his ideas of government (1765)

Men, even when their aim is identical and their motives of the highest, see the same things from very different points of view. Some are charmed by everything that is new, while others remain blindly attached to the habits of their predecessors. The fault of the first is levity and their merit is their anxiety to make things better. The defect of the second class is their indolence of mind and their reluctance to look for anything that lies outside their range of knowledge. Their redeeming traits are prudence and confidence. . . . I do not belong to either party. I do not give expression forthwith to every whim that happens to come into my head, and, on the other hand, I do not ruminate on my ideas too long, lest I fall into a state of indecision and become a mere dreamer.

Our present situation demands, as I see it, our undivided attention and prompt measures of reform. Of course I am as yet a mere novice and can only express myself in accordance with general principles, relying upon hearsay and a little common sense. I am far from censuring what has been done, since

I do not have such a high esteem for myself that I can believe that my wise predecessors would not have done the same thing as I, had they found themselves in the situation which prevails to-day, or had they seen things from the point of view that I regard them. . . .

I may say that all that I have observed or learned has forced me to the conclusion that there is nothing so dangerous as cleverness and subtilty in discussion. I will not recognize the force of any argument derived from the ancient Greeks or the modern French. Reasons drawn from the past century or the customs of a hundred years fail to convince me, since the Austrian monarchy does not resemble any other and the year 1765 cannot be compared with any other since the birth of Christ. Let us act, then, according to the dictates of good sense and reflection, for we shall have done enough if we reach our decisions in the light of such talents as the Creator has vouchsafed us, and execute them with confidence and determination when once we have made up our minds. I accordingly present here a sketch of the defects of our present system and set forth my pious desires for the future. . . .

Importance of increasing population

As for the finances, I will not linger long upon this abstract matter upon which I confess without a blush I have only the most general ideas, which I have derived from the maxims of common sense. I will content myself with saying that I consider the first and foremost object toward which our general policy, as well as our financial, and even military measures, should be directed is *population*, — the conservation and augmentation of our subjects. For to an increase in the population may be properly ascribed all the advantages which accrue to the State: first, there will be more men to defend it, even to increase its provinces and extend its boundaries; secondly, this will make it respected by its enemies and courted by its allies; and thirdly, the State will be enriched by a legitimate increase of the taxes and by the expenditure which naturally grows proportionally.

Commerce

Next to the population commerce contributes most to the greatness and wealth of the State. The sovereign can, by giving employment and protection to workmen, especially to those

dealing with raw materials and the native products, not only prevent money from leaving the country but can even draw it in from abroad. But it is not money alone that promotes business, but the vigilance of the ruler, his personal inspection or at least that of a faithful minister, prompt justice, good police arrangements. The business men must be cajoled and protected, prizes must be offered, and the merchants must be comforted in their little troubles; but there must be no privileges granted, above all no exclusive rights or monopolies of any kind.

Royal expenditures to be reduced

As for expenditures, I believe that the sovereign should look after them personally, distinguishing carefully those that are absolutely essential and keeping no more for himself and the luxury of the court than absolute decency demands. Can he possibly better enjoy his revenue, even that which is quite properly set aside for his pleasures, than by using it, and making it a pleasure to use it, for the benefit of the State? . . . All outlays that are not absolutely necessary should be abandoned, since I could never bring myself to think it right to skin two hundred good peasants to pay one do-nothing lord more than he ought to have. . . .

Education

As for education, I will only say a few words lest I find myself writing a volume. It is much neglected here. Fathers and mothers hope for nothing further than to see their children acquire an attitude of mind and general deportment like their own. The good souls believe that they have done everything and created a distinguished statesman when their son attends mass regularly, tells his beads, confesses every fortnight, and reads nothing except that which the narrow mind of his reverend priest permits him to think permissible. So long as a youth does not raise his eyes and continues to blush in society, holds one hand in his belt and the other in his waistcoat, knows how to make his bow with good grace and ask politely, "What time is it?" or "How do you do?" who would be rash enough not to say, "He 's a fine boy and well brought up"? I should say, "Yes," if our State were only a monastery and our neighbors Carthusian monks. . . .

In order to keep for the advantage of the State the greatest number of men of ability capable of serving it, I should order,

No one should be permitted to become a churchman or monk before the age of twenty-five

in spite of anything that the Pope and all the monks in the world might say, that none of my subjects should embrace any ecclesiastical profession before they had attained the age of twenty-five years. The melancholy effects which premature decisions of this kind have caused in the case of both men and women should alone convince us of the general advisability of this measure quite aside from its advantage to the State. I will not deny that this might bring it about that there would be fewer monks, but that would be no great evil, for they would make up by their virtue and fitness for their vocation what they would lose in numbers. . . .

Censorship

Touching the censorship, I believe that it should be very alert in dealing with everything that is printed or publicly sold; but to fumble in one's pockets or trunk, especially in those of a foreigner, is to carry zeal to an extreme; and it would be easy to prove that, in spite of the rigor used, there is no bad book which has been prohibited which is not to be found in Vienna, and that every one who is tempted by the prohibition can for twice its price get the book and read it. Accordingly any individual, in particular foreigners, who only bring in one copy, shall be left alone, since it is not the business of the sovereign to watch over individual consciences but only over the general good. Indeed, to answer once for all the eternal cry, "But what will people say?" I freely profess that in trivial matters and questions of taste I believe that full liberty should be left to men and that we should confine our rigor to matters affecting the State, where the subject should submit blindly and see matters from the same point of view as his sovereign. . . .

In order to promote our trade I should make a law that all kinds of commodities coming from foreign countries, except spices and tropical products, should be absolutely prohibited. In order to reach this end I should first prohibit the importation of all rich stuffs, and no one should venture to wear clothes with other embroidery or laces than those made in my lands. As for diamonds, every one should be required to make a declaration of all that he possesses and then he should not be permitted to buy or procure any more than that number, but he should be allowed to exchange them freely, since the

internal luxury of a country, which makes the money of the rich circulate among the poor, far from being prejudicial to the State is advantageous to it. I would have instruction given in commerce in my dominions and would endeavor in this way to form young men who should later be useful to the State. In order to do this I would have it understood that it is no shame for the nobility to go into business. . . .

Conclusion, on our obligation to better things

To hold that everything that has been done before our time is good and unchangeable or, on the other hand, to believe that everything should be revolutionized, both these are prejudices which have serious consequences. The latter is particularly seductive, since we see that things are not going well, and we conclude that they formerly went even worse because what we now have was once itself regarded as a remedy. Everything in this world can be made good if we diminish its faults and increase its advantages. The greatest prejudice of all and the least excusable is not to dare to attack or emancipate one's self from prejudice. We must have a great deal of courage and still more love of country to be a reformer in this world. No form of evil instinct is easier to inculcate, adopt, and follow than that which encourages us to leave things where we find them without giving any thought to the matter. But we shall have one day to give an account of the good that we should have sought for and then accomplished.

Riesbeck, the German traveler (quoted above, p. 200), exhibits a great enthusiasm for Joseph II and a keen appreciation of the situation during the last years of Maria Theresa.

102. A German traveler's impressions of Joseph II and Maria Theresa

As soon as the Emperor [Joseph II] governs this country alone a revolution will take place here that will render the present inhabitants a phenomenon to the next generation. He is a philosopher in the true sense of the word, although he does not, like Rudolph the Second, gaze at the stars with Tycho Brahe. He loves mankind, and is acquainted with their value. I know no public inscription that does a prince more honor than that which is over the gate of the public garden

here. "A place of pleasure for all men, prepared for them by their friend." Joseph is a professed admirer of all that is called private virtue (*les vertus bourgeoises*), and his principles of government are as republican as those of most of the States who at this day call themselves republics. Hitherto, however, his mother's different way of thinking has prevented much of his theory from being carried into practice.

The bright sides of this Empress's character are so striking that one can hardly observe the darker ones. In private life, indeed, such small spots would appear not only venial but in some degree respectable; but it is the misfortune of greatness that the smallest weakness of the governor has often a sensible influence on the happiness of the governed, so that the least personal vices are often the greatest political defects.

Whoever sees the Empress now, discovers that she has been a beauty. Within these few years she has begun to be subject to some of the infirmities of advancing age; but the best judges still discern a strong constitution and lively temperament in her. I saw her for the first time in the church of the Augustine friars, where she was attending a religious ceremony, and immediately recognized her, not so much by her likeness to her pictures (from the truth of which age has of course taken a great deal) as by the air of majesty which strikes every one who has the honor to approach her. . . .

Generosity of Maria Theresa

The Empress's benevolence, of which religion is the principle, approaches almost to profusion. She refuses relief to none of those who stand in need of her assistance; and the meanest of her subjects finds the way to make his distresses known to her. Her steward has hardly anything to lay before her but accounts of charities. . . .

Her character, however, has sometimes risen beyond the strength of a man. The resolution with which she defended her hereditary dominions against so many powers united to oppress her excited the astonishment of all Europe. Her love of justice is so great that she immediately desists from any pretensions she has formed which are not reconcilable with it when she is shown that they are not so. Though the king of Prussia knows that she bears him a grudge (which she will

carry with her to the grave), he is so convinced of the general rectitude of her principles that whenever they have a dispute, his only care is to have his reasons properly stated to the Empress herself by his ambassador.

Three chief parties in Austria

In order to have any idea of the government of this place, it is necessary to attend to the three contending parties of the State. The first and strongest is that of the Empress; it consists of the great personage herself, Cardinal Migazzi, the archbishop, some monks, principally Capuchins, and a few old ladies who make their court to the Empress by imitating her peculiarities. This party is always busy with commissions on improving morals, prohibition of books, driving away dangerous preachers and professors, increasing the papal power, and persecuting the new philosophy. A great part of the old nobility, whose prerogatives stand upon the same ground as those of the priesthood, adhere very strongly to this party.

The clerical conservative group

The reformers

The second party is that of the Emperor, and it is at perpetual war with the former. This party employs itself in the improvement of legislation and the promotion of agriculture, trade, and industry of all kinds; in the extension of philosophy and taste; in curtailing the exorbitant pretensions of the nobles; in the protection of the lower classes against the higher, — in short, in whatever can make gods of men. One of the principal persons of this party is Marshal Lacy, who carries on a most unremitting war against the monks and their adherents. This able general acts here just as he did when he was opponent to the king of Prussia; and the Emperor and he are always occupied in planning zigzag marches, and countermarches, and retreats; so that General Migazzi and his brown, black, white, half-black, half-white troops are often obliged to go into winter quarters without having effected any slaughter at all. These two parties, who are open enemies, have, however, some intercourse with each other through the medium of a third, at the head of which is the celebrated Count Kaunitz.

Count Kaunitz, the greatest statesman of our day, and a man who, by great services to the imperial house, has worked himself into the confidence both of the Empress and her son,

The party of Count Kaunitz, the statesman and diplomat (1711–1794)

is worthy to be the mediator between them. In his heart he is more favorable to the Emperor's party than to that of his mother, but he is obliged to appear a kind of middle man, and to give his own philosophical operations that kind of religious cast without which they would not go down. . . . He often covers the marches of the Emperor and his great field marshal, by which means Migazzi, alert as he is, is often forced to capitulate before he knows that the enemy is in the field. Kaunitz distinguishes himself by his style of living and mode of expense. These are entirely French, and most magnificent. As nothing can be more contrary to the Emperor's rigid economy than such a way of life, it is not certain but that the Count (in spite of his set ways and well-known merits) may be obliged upon a change to make an alteration in this respect, which his age and the habits he has contracted would make unpleasing to him.

What with the erection of new schools, and the care to prevent the erection of new cloisters, the battles about new books, and the recommendations to civil and military employments, all the three parties have sufficiently to do.

Section 31. Peculiarities of the English Government in the Eighteenth Century

Blackstone, writing in the opening years of George III's reign, thus describes the relations of king and Parliament in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England.*

103. Blackstone on the English Parliament

The constituent parts of a Parliament are the next objects of our inquiry. And these are the king's majesty, sitting there in his royal political capacity, and the three estates of the realm, — the lords spiritual, the lords temporal (who sit together with the king, in one House), and the Commons, who sit by themselves in another. And the king and these three estates, together, form the great corporation or body politic of the kingdom, of which the king is said to be *caput, principium, et finis.* For upon their coming together the king meets them, either in person or by representation ; without which there can

be no beginning of a Parliament; and he also has alone the power of dissolving them.

Position of the king

It is highly necessary for preserving the balance of the constitution, that the executive power should be a branch, though not the whole, of the legislature. . . . The crown cannot begin of itself any alterations in the present established law; but it may approve or disapprove of the alterations suggested and consented to by the two Houses. The legislative therefore cannot abridge the executive power of any rights which it now has by law, without its own consent, since the law must perpetually stand as it now does, unless all the powers will agree to alter it.

System of checks and balances

And herein indeed consists the true excellence of the English government, that all the parts of it form a mutual check upon each other. In the legislature, the people are a check upon the nobility, and the nobility a check upon the people, by the mutual privilege of rejecting what the other has resolved; while the king is a check upon both, which preserves the executive power from encroachments. And this very executive power is again checked and kept within due bounds by the two Houses, through the privilege they have of inquiring into, impeaching, and punishing the conduct, not indeed of the king, which would destroy his constitutional independence; but — which is more beneficial to the public — of his evil and pernicious counselors. Thus every branch of our civil polity supports and is supported, regulates and is regulated, by the rest. . . .

Spiritual lords

The spiritual lords consist of two archbishops and twenty-four bishops; and, at the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII, consisted likewise of twenty-six mitered abbots and two priors: a very considerable body, and in those times equal in number to the temporal nobility. . . .

Temporal lords

The lords temporal consist of all the peers of the realm (the bishops not being in strictness held to be such, but merely lords of Parliament) by whatever title of nobility distinguished — dukes, marquisses, earls, viscounts, or barons; of which dignities we shall speak more hereafter. Some of these sit by descent, as do all ancient peers; some by creation, as do all new-made ones; others, since the union with Scotland, by

election, which is the case of the sixteen peers who represent the body of the Scots nobility. Their number is indefinite, and may be increased at will by the power of the crown; and once, in the reign of Queen Anne, there was an instance of creating no less than twelve together. . . .

The Commons

The Commons consist of all such men of any property in the kingdom as have not seats in the House of Lords, every one of which has a voice in Parliament, either personally or by his representatives. In a free State every man, who is supposed a free agent, ought to be, in some measure, his own governor; and therefore a branch at least of the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people. And this power, when the territories of the State are small and its citizens easily known, should be exercised by the people in their aggregate or collective capacity, as was wisely ordained in the petty republics of Greece and the first rudiments of the Roman State. But this will be highly inconvenient when the public territory is extended to any considerable degree, and the number of citizens is increased. . . .

In so large a State as ours it is therefore very wisely contrived that the people should do that by their representatives which it is impracticable to perform in person; — representatives chosen by a number of minute and separate districts, wherein all the voters are, or easily may be, distinguished. The counties are therefore represented by knights, elected by the proprietors of lands; the cities and boroughs are represented by citizens and burgesses, chosen by the mercantile part or supposed trading interest of the nation, much in the same manner as the burghers in the diet of Sweden are chosen by the corporate towns, Stockholm sending four, as London does with us, other cities two, and some only one. The number of English representatives is 513, and of Scots 45; in all 558. And every member, though chosen by one particular district, when elected and returned serves for the whole realm. . . . And therefore he is not bound, like a deputy in the United Provinces, to consult with, or take the advice of, his constituents upon any particular point, unless he himself thinks it proper or prudent so to do.

Relations of the several parts of Parliament

These are the constituent parts of a Parliament: the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons. Parts, of which each is so necessary, that the consent of all three is required to make any new law that shall bind the subject. Whatever is enacted for law by one, or by two only, of the three is no statute, and to it no regard is due, unless in matters relating to their own privileges. For though, in the times of madness and anarchy, the Commons once passed a vote, "that whatever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in Parliament assembled hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the king or house of peers be not had thereto," yet, when the constitution was restored in all its forms, it was particularly enacted by statute 13 Car. II. c. 1, that if any person shall maliciously or advisedly affirm that both or either of the Houses of Parliament have any legislative authority without the king, such person shall incur all the penalties of a *praemunire*. . . .

Powers of Parliament

The power and jurisdiction of Parliament, says Sir Edward Coke, is so transcendent and absolute that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds. And of this high court he adds, it may be truly said, "*si antiquitatem spectes, est vetustissima; si dignitatem, est honoratissima; si jurisdictionem, est capacissima.*" It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical, or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal; this being the place where that absolute despotic power, which must in all governments reside somewhere, is entrusted by the constitution of these kingdoms. All mischiefs and grievances, operations and remedies, that transcend the ordinary course of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal.

It can regulate or new model the succession to the crown, as was done in the reign of Henry VIII and William III. It can alter the established religion of the land, as was done in a variety of instances, in the reigns of King Henry VIII and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the

constitution of the kingdom and of parliaments themselves, as was done by the act of union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short, do everything that is not naturally impossible; and therefore some have not scrupled to call its power, by a figure rather too bold, the omnipotence of Parliament.

CHAPTER XI

THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Section 32. The Ancien Régime in France

Necker's daughter, the gifted Madame de Staël, in her *Observations on the French Revolution* (published in 1818), skillfully sums up the general character of the French government before 1789.

104. Uncertainty and confusion of the Ancien Régime (From Madame de Staël)

Among all the kingdoms of modern times France has certainly been the most arbitrary and unsettled in its political institutions. Perhaps the successive annexations of the various provinces by the crown is one reason for this. Each province brought with it its own customs and particular claims; the government skillfully played off the old provinces against the new, and only gradually did the country become a unit.

Be this as it may, there has been no law, however fundamental, which has not been questioned at some period. There has been nothing which has not been viewed in the most diverse ways. Were the kings the lawgivers of the realm, or no? Might they raise taxes of their free will, or were the Estates General the representatives of the people, to whom alone belonged the right to grant subsidies? And how should the Estates General be composed? Could the privileged orders, who had two votes out of the three, be regarded as separate nations, who voted their taxes separately, and might therefore withhold their aid, and so leave the people to bear the burden of the necessary contributions to the State?

Position of the three estates of the realm

What were, precisely, the privileges of the clergy, who sometimes declared themselves independent of the king, sometimes of the Pope? What were exactly the prerogatives of the nobles, who sometimes, and as late as the minority of Louis XIV,

believed themselves entitled to enforce their rights by arms and by alliances with foreign powers; sometimes, on the other hand, acknowledged the king to be absolute? What should be the status of the third estate, emancipated by the kings from serfdom, admitted to the Estates General by Philip the Fair, and yet condemned to be always in the minority; since it was given but one vote out of three, and its grievances, presented to the king on its knees, were without any assured influence?

The *parlements*

What degree of political power rightly belonged to the *parlements*, which at one time declared that they had no other duties than to administer justice, and at another proclaimed that they were Estates General in miniature, — that is, the representatives of the representatives of the people? These same *parlements* did not recognize the jurisdiction of the intendants who administered the provinces in the king's name. The king's ministers questioned the right claimed by the *pays d'états* [1] to approve new taxes in their respective provinces.

The history of France would furnish a mass of other examples of this want of fixity in the least, as well as in the greatest, matters; but it will suffice to cite some of the deplorable results of this absence of rules. Persons accused of state offenses were almost always deprived of their natural judges, and some of them passed their whole lives in prison, where the government had sent them on its own authority without trial. A code of terror was maintained for the Protestants, and cruel punishments and torture continued to exist until the Revolution.

Arbitrary imprisonment

Arbitrary imprisonment by *lettres de cachet* had begun to excite the indignation of the courts before the Revolution, as the following case shows. The collection of certain taxes was, for the sake of convenience, turned over by the French government to a company of financiers called the "farmers general." These men and their agents were commonly disliked for obvious reasons. Toward the end of Louis XV's reign the agents of the

[1] Namely, those provinces which retained their ancient provincial assemblies of the three orders.

"farm" obtained a *lettre de cachet* for the imprisonment of an unfortunate individual whom they mistook for another man of the same name. When the prisoner was released he brought suit against the "farmers," who were condemned to pay heavy damages. They applied, however, to the king's council, which annulled the decision; whereupon the court which had decided the case laid a solemn "Protest" before the king denouncing the whole system of arbitrary imprisonment.

105. Protest of a French court of law against *lettres de cachet* (1770)

Sire:

Your Court of Excises,[1] having been impeded in the administration of justice by illegal acts which cannot have emanated from your Majesty personally, have determined that a very humble and very respectful protest should be made to you concerning the matter. . . .

Certain agents of the "farm" arrested an individual named Monnerat without observing any of the restrictions imposed by law. Shortly afterwards an order from your Majesty was produced in virtue of which the man was taken to the prison of Bicêtre and held there for twenty months. Yet it is not the excessive length of the imprisonment that should most deeply touch your Majesty. There exist in the fortress of Bicêtre subterranean dungeons which were dug long ago to receive certain famous criminals who, after having been condemned to death, saved themselves by exposing their accomplices. It would seem that they were condemned to a life which would have made death the preferable alternative. While it was desired that their cells should be absolutely dark, it was necessary to admit enough air to sustain life. Accordingly hollow pillars were constructed which established some connection with the outer air without letting in any light. The victims that are cast into these damp cells, which necessarily become foul after a few days, are

[1] This court (*cour des aides*), as well as the *parlements*, often sent protests to the king, criticising the policy of his ministers and council. The protests were frequently printed, and so served to rouse and cultivate public opinion.

fastened to the wall by a heavy chain and are supplied with nothing but a little straw, and bread and water. Your Majesty will find it difficult to believe that a man simply *suspected* of smuggling should be kept in such a place of horror for more than a month.

According to the testimony of Monnerat himself, and the deposition of a witness, it appears that after emerging from his subterranean cell, which he calls "the black dungeon," he was kept for a long time in another less dark. This precaution was taken for the welfare of the prisoner, since experience has shown — perhaps at the cost of a number of lives — that it is dangerous to pass too suddenly from the black dungeon to the open air and the light of day.

Monnerat, upon being released from prison, brought suit for damages against the farmers general. Up to that point the question was one of an individual. But the arrest was illegal in form and the imprisonment a real injustice. If this man was a smuggler, he should have been punished according to the laws, which are very severe in this matter. But when your Majesty grants an order for the imprisonment of one suspected of smuggling, it is not your intention to have the suspected person kept in confinement for nearly two years waiting for proofs of his guilt. Now Monnerat has always maintained, both during and since his imprisonment, that he was not even the person for whom the order was obtained. . . .

According to the prevailing system, whenever the farmer of the revenue has no proof of smuggling except such as the courts would regard as suspicious and insufficient, he resorts to your Majesty's orders, called *lettres de cachet*, in order to punish the offense. . . .

(Condensed) [By means of these arbitrary orders the most sacred rights are violated, and the victim has no means of learning who is his persecutor. If any one who is able to impose upon your Majesty and procure a *lettre de cachet* is to be shielded from the courts,] how indeed can we be said to live to-day under any laws, sire, since such orders have prodigiously increased of late and are granted for all sorts of reasons and for personal considerations? Formerly they were reserved for affairs of

State, and then, sire, it was proper that the courts should respect the necessary secrecy of your administration. Subsequently these orders began to be granted in certain interesting cases, as, for example, when the sovereign was touched by the tears of a family which dreaded disgrace.[1] To-day they are considered necessary every time a common man offers any slight to a person of consideration, — as if persons of quality had not enough advantages already. It is also the usual form of punishment for indiscreet remarks. . . .

These orders signed by your Majesty are often filled in with obscure names of which your Majesty cannot possibly have heard. They are at the disposal of your ministers, and, it would appear, in view of the great number which are issued, of their clerks as well. They are confided to officials in both the capital and the provinces, who make use of them in accordance with the suggestions of their subdelegates and other subordinates. They doubtless find their way into many other hands, since we have just seen how readily they are granted to a simple farmer general or even, we may safely add, to the agents of the farm. . . .

The result is, sire, that no citizen in your kingdom can be assured that his liberty will not be sacrificed to a private grudge; for no one is so exalted that he is safe from the ill will of a minister, or so insignificant that he may not incur that of a clerk in the employ of the farm. The day will come, sire, when the multiplicity of the abuses of the *lettres de cachet* will lead your Majesty to abolish a custom so opposed to the constitution of your kingdom and the liberty which your subjects should enjoy.

106. Extracts from Arthur Young's *Travels in France*

Of all the descriptions that we have of the general condition of the French people upon the eve of the Revolution, the most important and interesting is Arthur Young's account of his travels in France during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789. Young was an honest and observant English gentleman farmer, whose aim was to

[1] This refers to the imprisonment of unruly sons or other relatives who were compromising a respectable family by their conduct.

ascertain the "cultivation, wealth, resources, and national prosperity" of France, which were, as he foresaw, to be fundamentally changed by the Revolution then under way. His book, first published in 1792, met with immediate success, and still fascinates even the casual reader.

In 1787 Arthur Young visited Paris and Versailles, and then traveled southward as far as the Pyrenees. Of Versailles and the capital he says:

Impressions of Versailles and its gardens

In viewing the king's apartment, which he had not left a quarter of an hour, with those slight traits of disorder that showed he *lived* in it, it was amusing to see the blackguard figures that were walking uncontrolled about the palace, and even in his bedchamber; men whose rags betrayed them to be in the last stage of poverty, and I was the only person that stared and wondered how the devil they got there. It is impossible not to like this careless indifference and freedom from suspicion. One loves the master of the house, who would not be hurt or offended at seeing his apartment thus occupied if he returned suddenly, for if there was danger of this the intrusion would be prevented. This is certainly a feature of that *good temper* which appears to me so visible everywhere in France. I desired to see the queen's apartments, but I could not. "Is her Majesty in it?" "No." "Why then not see it as well as the king's?" "Ma foi, Monsieur, c'est une autre chose."

Ramble through the gardens, and by the grand canal, with absolute astonishment at the exaggerations of writers and travelers. There is magnificence in the quarter of the orangery, but no beauty anywhere; there are some statues good enough to wish them under cover. The extent and breadth of the canal are nothing to the eye, and it is not in such good repair as a farmer's horse pond. The menagerie is well enough, but nothing great.

After a stay of three months Young finds himself in the southern confines of the kingdom.

[*August 11.*] Take the road to Lourdes, where is a castle on a rock, garrisoned for the mere purpose of keeping state prisoners sent hither by *lettres de cachet*. Seven or eight are known to be here at present; thirty have been here at a time; and many for life, — torn by the relentless hand of jealous tyranny from the bosom of domestic comfort; from wives, children, friends, and hurried for crimes unknown to themselves — more probably for virtues — to languish in this detested abode of misery, and die of despair. O liberty! liberty! And yet this is the mildest government of any considerable country in Europe, our own excepted. The dispensations of Providence seem to have permitted the human race to exist only as the prey of tyrants, as it has made pigeons for the prey of hawks. . . .

Young's impressions of Béarn

[*The 12th.*] Pau is a considerable town, that has a parliament and a linen manufacture; but it is more famous for being the birthplace of Henry IV. I viewed the castle, and was shown, as all travelers are, the room in which that amiable prince was born, and the cradle — the shell of a tortoise — in which he was nursed. What an effect on posterity have great and distinguished talents! This is a considerable town, but I question whether anything would ever carry a stranger to it but its possessing the cradle of a favorite character.

Take the road to Moneng [Monein] and come presently to a scene which was so new to me in France that I could hardly believe my own eyes. A succession of many well-built, tight, and comfortable farming cottages, built of stone and covered with tiles; each having its little garden, inclosed by clipped thorn hedges, with plenty of peach and other fruit trees, some fine oaks scattered in the hedges, and young trees nursed up with so much care that nothing but the fostering attention of the owner could effect anything like it. To every house belongs a farm, perfectly well inclosed, with grass borders mown and neatly kept around the cornfields, with gates to pass from one inclosure to another. The men are all dressed with red caps, like the Highlanders of Scotland. There are some parts of England (where small yeomen still remain) that resemble this country of Béarn: but we have very little that

is equal to what I have seen in this ride of twelve miles from Pau to Moneng. It is all in the hands of little proprietors, without the farms being so small as to occasion a vicious and miserable population. An air of neatness, warmth, and comfort breathes over the whole. It is visible in their new-built houses and stables, in their little gardens, in their hedges, in the courts before their doors, even in the coops for their poultry and the sties for their hogs. A peasant does not think of rendering his pig comfortable if his own happiness hangs by the thread of a nine years' lease. We are now in Béarn, within a few miles of the cradle of Henry IV. Do they inherit these blessings from that good prince? The benignant genius of that good monarch seems to reign still over the country; each peasant has the fowl in the pot. . . .

[*The 13th.*] The agreeable scene of yesterday continues: many small properties, and every appearance of rural happiness.

In September, 1788, Young found himself in Brittany.

Brittany

To Combourg. The country has a savage aspect; husbandry not much further advanced, at least in skill, than among the Hurons, which appears incredible amidst inclosures. The people almost as wild as their country, and their town of Combourg one of the most brutal, filthy places that can be seen; mud houses, no windows, and a pavement so broken as to impede all passengers, but ease none. Yet here is a chateau, and inhabited. Who is this Monsieur de Chateaubriant, the owner, that has nerves strung for a residence amidst such filth and poverty? . . .

To Montauban. The poor people seem poor indeed; the children terribly ragged, — if possible, worse clad than if with no clothes at all; as to shoes and stockings, they are luxuries. A beautiful girl of six or seven years playing with a stick, and smiling under such a bundle of rags as made my heart ache to see her. They did not beg, and when I gave them anything seemed more surprised than obliged. One third of what I have seen of this province seems uncultivated, and nearly all of it in misery. What have kings, and ministers, and parliaments, and States to answer for their prejudices, seeing millions of

hands that would be industrious idle and starving through the execrable maxims of despotism, or the equally detestable prejudices of a feudal nobility. Sleep at the *Lion d'Or*, at Montauban, an abominable hole.

Young was in Paris during the early sessions of the Estates General in 1789.[1] On June 28 he left the capital to visit the eastern and southeastern provinces.

Lack of news in the provinces

[*July 4.*] To Chateau Thiery, following the course of the Marne. The country is pleasantly varied, and hilly enough to render it a constant picture, were it inclosed. Thiery is beautifully situated on the same river. I arrived there by five o'clock, and wished, in a period so interesting to France and indeed to all Europe, to see a newspaper. I asked for a coffee-house, — not one in the town. Here are two parishes and some thousands of inhabitants, and not a newspaper to be seen by a traveler, even in a moment when all ought to be in anxiety. What stupidity, poverty, and want of circulation! This people hardly deserve to be free; and should there be the least attempt with vigor to keep them otherwise, it can hardly fail of succeeding. To those who have been used to travel amidst the energetic and rapid circulation of wealth, animation, and intelligence of England, it is not possible to describe in words adequate to one's feelings the dullness and stupidity of France. I have been to-day on one of their greatest roads, within thirty miles of Paris, yet I have not seen one diligence, and met but a single gentleman's carriage, nor anything else on the road that looked like a gentleman.

Thomas Jefferson was also traveling in France just before the Revolution, and it is interesting to compare his observations with those of Arthur Young. He took great pains to discover the degree of comfort which the peasant enjoyed, and was surprised to find it so great. He writes from Nice to a friend, April 11, 1787:

[1] See below, pp. 252 *sqq.*

107. Jefferson finds less misery in France than he expected

In the great cities I go to see what travelers think alone worthy of being seen; but I make a job of it and generally gulp it all down in a day. On the other hand, I am never satiated with rambling through the fields and farms, examining the culture and cultivators with a degree of curiosity which makes some take me for a fool, and others to be much wiser than I am. I have been pleased to find among the people a less degree of physical misery than I had expected. They are generally well clothed and have a plenty of food, — not animal, indeed, but vegetable, which is just as wholesome. Perhaps they are overworked, the excess of the rent required by the landlord obliging them to too many hours of labor in order to produce that and wherewith to feed and clothe themselves. The soil of Burgundy and Champagne I have found more universally good than I had expected; and as I could not help making a comparison with England, I found that comparison more unfavorable to the latter than is generally admitted. The soil, the climate, and the productions are superior to those of England, and the husbandry as good except in one point, that of manure.

From the first olive fields of Pierrelatte to the orangeries of Hieres has been continued rapture to me. I have often wished for you. I think you have not made this journey. It is a pleasure you have to come, and an improvement you have to add to the many you have already made. It will be a great comfort for you to know, from your own inspection, the condition of all the provinces of your own country, and it will be interesting to them at some future day to be known to you. This is perhaps the only moment of your life in which you can acquire that knowledge. And to do it most effectually you must be absolutely incognito; you must ferret the people out of their hovels, as I have done, look into their kettles, eat their bread, loll on their beds under pretense of resting yourself, but in fact to find if they are soft. You will feel a sublime pleasure in the course of this investigation, and a sublimer one hereafter, when you shall be able to apply your knowledge to the softening of their beds or the throwing a morsel of meat into their kettle of vegetables.

Section 33. How Louis XVI tried to play the Benevolent Despot

Louis XV died of smallpox, May 10, 1774. Marie Antoinette, now become queen at eighteen, writes to her mother as follows:

CHOISY, May 14, 1774

Madame, my very dear Mother:

108. Marie Antoinette reports to her mother that she is now a queen

Count Mercy[1] has doubtless informed you of the details of our misfortune. Happily his cruel malady left the king fully conscious to the last moment, and his end was very edifying. The new king seems to have gained the heart of the people. Two days before his grandfather's death he had two hundred thousand francs distributed to the poor, which produced a fine effect. Since the late king's death he has worked constantly, and replies with his own hand to the ministers, whom he is not able to see yet, and to many other letters. One thing is certain; he has a taste for economy, and his greatest anxiety is to make his people happy. In short, his eagerness to learn is equal to his need of information, and I trust that God will bless his good will.

Madame du Barry sent to a convent

The public are looking for many changes just now. But the king has confined himself to sending away that creature to a convent and driving from court all connected with her. The king owed this example to the people of Versailles, who at the time of the catastrophe attacked Madame de Mazarin, one of the most humble domestics of the favorite. I am often urged to preach clemency to the king toward a number of corrupt souls who have been up to much evil during the last few years. . . .

They have just come to forbid me to visit my Aunt Adelaide, who has a high fever and pain in her loins; they fear smallpox. I tremble and dare not think of the consequences. It is terrible for her to pay so speedily for the sacrifice she has made [in nursing the late king]. I am delighted that Marshall Lascy

[1] The ambassador of the empire, whom Maria Theresa had selected as the special adviser of her young daughter when she went to France.

was pleased with me. I confess, dear mamma, that I was much affected when he took leave of me, as I thought how rarely it happened that I saw people of my own country, particularly those who have the additional happiness of approaching you. . . .

The king has left me, as queen, free to fill the vacant positions in my household. I took pleasure in according a mark of attention to the people of Lorraine by selecting Abbé Sabran as my first almoner, — an upright man of exalted birth and already appointed to the bishopric of Nancy, which has just been created.

Although it pleased God to cause me to be born to the station I occupy to-day, I cannot but wonder at the dispensation of Providence, who chose me, the youngest of your children, for the finest kingdom of Europe. I feel more than ever all that I owe to the affection of my august mother, who has been at such pains and trouble to secure this beautiful position for me. I have never so longed to be able to throw myself at her feet, kiss her, show her my whole soul, and let her see how it is filled with respect, love, and gratitude. . . .

[*The king here adds in his own hand:*]

I am very glad to have an opportunity, my dear mamma, to express my love and attachment. I would that I might have your advice in these days which are so full of embarrassment. I should be delighted to be able to satisfy you, and to prove in that way the affection and gratitude that I owe you for granting me your daughter, with whom I could not be better satisfied.

[*The queen then closes:*]

The king would not let my letter go without adding a word for himself. I am aware that he might have been expected to write a letter of his own, but I beg that my dear mamma will excuse him in view of the great number of things he has to occupy him and also a little on account of his natural timidity and shyness. You can see, dear mamma, by what he says at the end, that while he is fond enough of me he does not spoil me with insipid compliments.

Turgot, immediately after learning from Louis XVI that he had been appointed comptroller general, wrote the

following touching letter to that inefficient young monarch, who was so ready to desert him a few months later.

COMPIÈGNE, August 24, 1774

Sire:

109. Turgot's letter to the king upon assuming office (August, 1774)

Having just come from the private interview with which your Majesty has honored me, still full of the anxiety produced by the immensity of the duties now imposed upon me, agitated by all the feelings excited by the touching kindness with which you have encouraged me, I hasten to convey to you my respectful gratitude and the devotion of my whole life.

Your Majesty has been good enough to permit me to place on record the engagement you have taken upon you to sustain me in the execution of those plans of economy which are at all times, and to-day more than ever, an indispensable necessity. . . . At this moment, sire, I confine myself to recalling to you these three items:

No bankruptcy.

No increase of taxes.

No loans.

No *bankruptcy*, either avowed, or disguised in the form of illegal reductions.

No *increase of taxes;* the reason for this lying in the condition of your people, and, still more, in your Majesty's own generous heart.

No *loans;* because every loan always diminishes the free revenue and necessitates, at the end of a certain time, either bankruptcy or the increase of taxes. In times of peace it is permissible to borrow only in order to liquidate old debts, or in order to redeem other loans contracted on less advantageous terms.

To meet these three points there is but one means. It is to reduce expenditure below the revenue, and sufficiently below it to insure each year a saving of twenty millions, to be applied to redemption of the old debts. Without that, the first gunshot will force the State into bankruptcy.

The question will be asked incredulously, "On what can we retrench?" and each one, speaking for his own department,

will maintain that nearly every particular item of expense is indispensable. They will be able to allege very good reasons for their claims, but these must all yield to the absolute necessity of economy. . . .

These are the matters which I have been permitted to recall to your Majesty. You will not forget that in accepting the place of comptroller general I have felt the full value of the confidence with which you honor me; I have felt that you intrust to me the happiness of your people, and, if it be permitted to me to say so, the care of promoting among your people the love of your person and of your authority.

Turgot foresees the danger of opposition to all reforms

At the same time I feel all the danger to which I expose myself. I foresee that I shall be alone in fighting against abuses of every kind, against the power of those who profit by these abuses, against the crowd of prejudiced people who oppose themselves to all reform, and who are such powerful instruments in the hands of interested parties for perpetuating the disorder. I shall have to struggle even against the natural goodness and generosity of your Majesty, and of the persons who are most dear to you. I shall be feared, hated even, by nearly all the court, by all who solicit favors. They will impute to me all the refusals; they will describe me as a hard man because I shall have advised your Majesty that you ought not to enrich at the expense of your people's subsistence even those that you love.

And this people, for whom I shall sacrifice myself, are so easily deceived that perhaps I shall encounter their hatred by the very measures I take to defend them against exactions. I shall be calumniated (having, perhaps, appearances against me) in order to deprive me of your Majesty's confidence. I shall not regret losing a place which I never solicited. I am ready to resign it to your Majesty as soon as I can no longer hope to be useful in it. . . .

Your Majesty will remember that it is upon the faith of your promises made to me that I charge myself with a burden perhaps beyond my strength, and it is to yourself personally, to the upright man, the just and good man, rather than to the king, that I give myself.

I venture to repeat here what you have already been kind enough to hear and approve of. The affecting kindness with which you condescended to press my hands within your own, as if sealing my devotion, will never be effaced from my memory. It will sustain my courage. It has forever united my personal happiness with the interest, the glory, and the happiness of your Majesty. It is with these sentiments that I am, sire, etc.

Less than two years later, in a letter dated May 15, 1776, Marie Antoinette writes to her mother: "Monsieur de Malesherbes retired from the ministry day before yesterday and was immediately replaced by Monsieur Amelot. Monsieur Turgot was dismissed the same day, and Monsieur de Clugny is to take his place. I confess, dear mamma, that I do not regret the departure of these men, but I had nothing to do with it." Maria Theresa replies with a characteristic warning:

110. Maria Theresa warns her daughter of the dangers of levity and dissipation

. . . I am very glad that you had nothing to do with the dismissal of the two ministers, who enjoy a high reputation with the public at large and who, in my opinion, have only erred in attempting to do too much at once. You say that you do not regret them. Doubtless you have good reasons; but of late the public no longer praises you as it did, and attributes to you all sorts of little intrigues which would be most unfitting to your station. The king loves you and his ministers should respect you. By asking for nothing contrary to the established order and general welfare, you will make yourself both loved and respected.

My only fear for you (being so young) is an excess of dissipation. You have never cared to read or to apply yourself in any way; this has often troubled me, and accounts for my having tormented you so often with inquiries as to what you were reading. I was so pleased to see you devoting yourself to music. But for a year now there has been no question of either reading or music, and I hear of nothing but racing and

hunting, and always without the king and with a lot of ill-chosen young people; all this troubles me very much, loving you, as I do, so dearly. Your sisters-in-law behave very differently, and I must own that all these boisterous diversions in which the king takes no part appear to me unseemly. You will say, "He knows and approves of them." I reply that he is kind and good and that that is all the more reason that you should be circumspect and arrange your pleasures together.

In February of the following year a projected visit of the Emperor Joseph II to Paris seemed likely to be abandoned. His mother, Maria Theresa, who had great hopes of happy results from it, both personal and political, writes to Marie Antoinette as follows:

VIENNA, February 3, 1777

111. Maria Theresa on the European situation in 1777

. . . As I desire nothing else in this world but the good of our holy religion, the happiness of my dear, and more than dear, children, the welfare of our states, and the felicity of our peoples, whom I love just as sincerely as my children, so I long to see not only our houses and our interests bound together closely and indissolubly, as indeed they already are, but a cordial personal friendship as well, which will bear every test and which no minister or other envious power shall ever be able to change or diminish. The emperor and the king are both so young, and both have such good and generous hearts, that I believe my hopes to be well founded if only they can learn to know each other and establish that mutual confidence which will be so useful and so necessary to them in their political careers, for their own happiness and that of their countries,—indeed, for all Europe.

These reflections of a doting old mother and sovereign have led me to send off new instructions to Mercy, directing him to furnish you with information and arrange with you as to the policy to be adopted toward your ministers. There are matters of the highest importance which I can only touch upon in passing. The quarrels between the Turks and the Russians and between Spain and Portugal, as well as the war in America,

may well bring about a general conflagration into which I shall be drawn in spite of myself; particularly as it is necessary to act with the greatest caution on account of our bad neighbor,[1] whose persistent enmity toward us is greatly increased since we have ventured to oppose his unjust designs in Poland and elsewhere. He is performing the impossible in the effort to frustrate, or at least to weaken, our influence in all the courts of Europe; he sticks at no calumny, and especially in France, and it is this that makes me doubly regret that the interview between Joseph II and Louis XVI has not taken place. The delight of the king of Prussia is a sure sign of the importance he attached to it, and should serve to unite us all the closer, for united neither he nor any one dare molest us.

I cannot conceal from you that scandal has not spared you personally, and I have mentioned to Mercy several darts of slander that have long disquieted me in regard to your amusements, games, excursions; that you were on bad terms with the king, — that you no longer share his bed, but want to sit up all night playing cards, which the king does not like; that you were alarmed at the prospect of your brother's visit, — that you did not in the least desire it, and that you are now delighted to be left free to pursue your pleasures. Such are the tales that are sent out from Berlin to Saxony, Poland, everywhere; and I confess that for several months they have caused me increasing dismay. My only consolation is, that as atrocious slanders are promulgated about the emperor and myself, it must be the same with you; but, my dear daughter, the newspapers but confirm these accounts of the various amusements in which my dear queen joins without her sisters-in-law or the king, and they give me many sad hours. I love you so tenderly that I cannot but look ahead into the future, and I entreat you to do the same.

No doubt the influence of the American Revolution upon French affairs has commonly been much exaggerated, since there is every reason to suppose that the

[1] Namely, Frederick the Great of Prussia.

example of the colonists did not really modify essentially the trend of affairs in France toward reform. The course of events can be readily explained even if the American war be quite eliminated from consideration. Yet the embarrassment of the treasury which resulted from France's intervention in the war, and the liberal ideas which it suggested to some of the nobility, may have hastened the French Revolution. Count Ségur, looking back long years after the events he narrates, thus describes the intervention of France in the struggle of the American colonists.

112. How France became interested in the American Revolution (From the *Mémoires* of Ségur)

At this time Liberty, which had been hushed in the civilized world for so many centuries, awoke in another hemisphere and engaged in a glorious struggle against an ancient monarchy which enjoyed the most redoubtable power. England, confident of its strength, had subsidized and dispatched forty thousand men to America to stifle this Liberty in its cradle; but a whole nation which longs for freedom is scarce to be vanquished.

The bravery of these new republicans won esteem in all parts of Europe and enlisted the sympathies of the friends of justice and humanity. The young men especially, who although brought up in the midst of monarchies had by a singular anomaly been nurtured in admiration for the great writers of antiquity and the heroes of Greece and Rome, carried to the point of enthusiasm the interest which the American insurrection inspired in them.

The French government, which desired the weakening of the power of England, was gradually drawn on by this liberal opinion, which showed itself in so energetic a manner. At first it secretly furnished arms, munitions, and money to the Americans, or permitted supplies to reach them by French ships; but it was too weak to venture to declare itself openly in their favor, affecting on the contrary an appearance of strict neutrality and so far blinding itself as to imagine that its secret measures would not be suspected, and that it might ruin its rival without incurring the danger of meeting it in the open

field. Such an illusion could not last long, and the English cabinet was too clear-sighted to let us gain the advantages of a war without incurring any of its risks.

The veil became more and more transparent daily. Soon the American envoys, Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, arrived in Paris, and shortly after the famous Benjamin Franklin joined them. It would be difficult to express the enthusiasm and favor with which they were welcomed in France, into the midst of an old monarchy, — these envoys of a people in insurrection against their king. Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the luxury of our capital, the elegance of our fashions, the magnificence of Versailles, the polished but haughty arrogance of our nobles, — in short all those living signs of the monarchical pride of Louis XIV, — with the almost rustic dress of the envoys, their simple if proud demeanor, their frank, direct speech, their plain, unpowdered hair, and, finally, that flavor of antiquity which seemed to bring suddenly within our walls and into the midst of the soft and servile civilization of the seventeenth century these sage contemporaries of Plato, or republicans of Cato's or Fabius's time.

This unexpected sight delighted us the more both because it was novel and because it came at just the period when our literature and philosophy had spread everywhere among us a desire for reform, a leaning toward innovation, and a lively love for liberty. The clash of arms served to excite still more the ardor of war-loving young men, since the deliberate caution of our ministers irritated us, and we were weary of a long peace which had lasted more than ten years. Every one was burning with a desire to repay the affronts of the last war, to fight the English, and to fly to the succor of the Americans. . . .

The young French officers, who breathed nothing but war, hastened to the American envoys, questioned them upon the situation, the resources of Congress, the means of defense, and demanded all the various bits of news which were constantly being received from that great theater where freedom was fighting so valiantly against British tyranny. . . . Silas Deane and Arthur Lee did not disguise the fact that the aid of some well-trained officers would be both agreeable and

useful. They even informed us that they were authorized to promise to those who would embrace their cause a rank appropriate to their services.

The American troops already included in their ranks several European volunteers whom the love of glory and independence had attracted. . . . The first three Frenchmen of distinguished rank at court who offered the aid of their service to the Americans were the marquis of Lafayette, the viscount of Noailles, and myself.

Shortly after his retirement in 1781, Necker set to work to write *A Treatise on the Administration of the Finances of France.* In the introduction to this he speaks of his recent experiences as minister of finance.

113. Necker reviews his own administration

The review I take of my past administration occasions, I confess, neither remorse nor repentance: possibly I may even find in it some actions the remembrance of which will shed a happy influence over the remainder of my days; possibly I may recall that, if it had not been for the revival and support of public confidence, the enemies of the king — who relied on the effects of the former disorder and low state of public credit in France — might have gained advantages that have escaped them; possibly I may think that if, in the first years of the war, I had been obliged to furnish the resources of a prudent government by taxes or rigorous operations, the poor would have been very unhappy, and the other classes of citizens would have taken alarm.

Yet, to balance these pleasing recollections, I shall always behold the empty shadow of the more lively and pure satisfactions that my administration was deprived of; I shall have always present to my mind those benefits of every kind which it would have been so easy to have effected if the fruits of so many solicitudes, instead of being appropriated solely to the extraordinary expenses of the State, could have been applied daily to augment the happiness and prosperity of the people.

Alas! what might not have been done under other circumstances! It wounds my heart to think of it! I labored during

the storm; I put the ship, as it were, afloat again, and others enjoy the command of her in the days of peace! But such is the fate of men; that Providence which searches the human heart and finds even in the virtues on which we pride ourselves some motives which are not perhaps pure enough in its sight, takes a delight in disappointing the most pardonable of all passions, namely, that of the love of glory and of the good opinion of the public. . . .

I regret, and I have made no secret of it, that I was interrupted in the middle of my career, and that I was not able to finish what I had conceived for the good of the State and for the honor of the kingdom. I have not the hypocritical vanity to affect a deceitful serenity, which would be too nearly allied to indifference to deserve a place among the virtues. That moment will be long present to my mind when, some days after my resignation, being occupied in assorting and classifying my papers, I came across those that contained my various ideas for future reforms, and more especially the plans I had formed for ameliorating the salt tax, for the suppression of every customhouse in the interior parts of the kingdom, and for the extension of the provincial administrations: — I could proceed no farther, and pushing away all these notes by a kind of involuntary motion, I covered my face with my hands, and a flood of tears overpowered me.

After tracing the growth of public opinion in France, Necker continues:

114. Necker on the sway of public opinion in France

A great many foreigners, from various causes, cannot have a just notion of the authority that is exercised in France by public opinion. They cannot comprehend the nature of an invisible power which, destitute of treasury, of guards and armies, dictates its laws in the capital, in the court, and even in the king's palace. Nevertheless nothing is more true nor more remarkable; and we shall cease to wonder at it if we reflect on what must be the consequences of the spirit of society when that spirit has an unbounded sway over a sensible people, who love not only to judge but to make a figure

in the world; who are not divided by political interests, weakened by despotism, or overcome by turbulent passions; lastly, over a nation in which, perhaps, a general propensity to imitation produces a multiplicity of opinions and weakens the force of those that are too singular, so that being commonly united together, and resembling billows that are more or less impetuous, they have a very powerful ascendant while they are in motion. . . .

Let us appreciate the full value of so salutary an authority; let us rally ourselves, in order to defend it against those it annoys and who would destroy it. It is that authority alone which sets bounds to the mischievous progress of indifference: in the midst of a depraved age its voice alone is attended to, and it seems to preside in the tribunal of honor.

I will go still farther: it is the ascendency of public opinion that opposes more obstacles in France to the abuse of power than any other consideration whatsoever. Yes, it is entirely by that opinion, and the esteem in which it is still held, that the nation has a kind of influence, by having it in its power to reward with praise, or punish with contempt. If ever that opinion is entirely despised, or if it ever grows too weak, then liberty will lose its principal support, and there will be a greater necessity than ever that the sovereign should be virtuous and his ministers moderate. . . .

Importance in France of preambles to edicts

Preambles to edicts are a form peculiar to the French government. Under the empire of despotism the sovereign disdains to instruct his subjects, or is afraid of accustoming them to reflect and argue. In free countries, on the other hand, such as England, every new law being discussed in the assembly of the representatives of the nation, the people are well informed, or at least reputed to be so, at the moment these laws are determined upon; and every individual may know the motives for making them from the collection of parliamentary debates or from the public papers.

But in France, where there are no national assemblies, and where nevertheless the laws of the sovereign must be registered by the supreme courts, — in France where the monarch entertains a certain regard for the national character, and where the

ministers themselves are made sensible every hour that they stand in need of the public approbation, — it has been thought essential to explain the motives of the will of the sovereign, when that will manifests itself to the people whether under the form of edicts or of simple proclamations of the king's council.

CHAPTER XII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Section 34. How the Estates General were summoned in 1789

The *cahiers*, drawn up in accordance with an ancient custom by the three orders of the realm, form one of the most extraordinary historical documents of all time. The conditions under which they were drafted were, on the whole, favorable to a frank and general expression on the part of all classes of the French people of their suggestions for reform. A portion of one of the *cahiers* of the third estate, selected somewhat at random, is given below.[1]

115. *Cahier* of the third estate of Carcassonne

Cahier *of the grievances, complaints, and protests of the electoral district of Carcassonne, drawn up by the commissioners named by the general assembly of the third estate and based upon the various* cahiers *received from the several communities of the said district:*

The third estate of the electoral district of Carcassonne, desiring to give to a beloved monarch, and one so worthy of our affection, the most unmistakable proof of its love and respect, of its gratitude and fidelity, desiring to coöperate with the whole nation in repairing the successive misfortunes which have overwhelmed it, and with the hope of reviving once more

[1] A *cahier* of a single order in one electoral district would fill several pages of this volume, and all those prepared to be taken to Versailles occupy together, when printed, six compactly printed quarto volumes. Professor Whitcomb has translated a typical *cahier* of each of the orders in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 5.

its ancient glory, declares that the happiness of the nation must, in their opinion, depend upon that of its king, upon the stability of the monarchy, and upon the preservation of the orders which compose it and of the fundamental laws which govern it:

Considering, too, that a holy respect for religion, morality, civil liberty, and the rights of property, a speedy return to true principles, a careful discrimination and due measure in the matter of the taxes, a strict proportionality in their assessment, a persistent economy in government expenditures, and indispensable reforms in all branches of the administration, are the best and perhaps the only means of perpetuating the existence of the monarchy:

The third estate of the electoral district of Carcassonne very humbly petitions his Majesty to take into consideration these several matters, weigh them in his wisdom, and permit his people to enjoy, as soon as may be, fresh proofs of that benevolence which he has never ceased to exhibit toward them and which is dictated by his affection for them.

In view of the obligation imposed by his Majesty's command that the third estate of this district should confide to his paternal ear the causes of the ills which afflict them and the means by which they may be remedied or moderated, they believe that they are fulfilling the duties of faithful subjects and zealous citizens in submitting to the consideration of the nation, and to the sentiments of justice and affection which his Majesty entertains for his subjects, the following:

Roman Catholic religion

1. Public worship should be confined to the Roman Catholic apostolic religion, to the exclusion of all other forms of worship; its extension should be promoted and the most efficient measures taken to reëstablish the discipline of the Church and increase its prestige.

Treatment of non-Catholics

2. Nevertheless the civil rights of those of the king's subjects who are not Catholics should be confirmed, and they should be admitted to positions and offices in the public administration, without however extending this privilege — which reason and humanity alike demand for them — to judicial or police functions or to those of public instruction.

Abolition of papal dues

3. The nation should consider some means of abolishing the annates and all other dues paid to the holy see, to the prejudice and against the protests of the whole French people.

[Pluralities should be prohibited, monasteries reduced in numbers, and holidays suppressed or decreased.]

. . . . . .

7. The rights which have just been restored to the nation should be consecrated as fundamental principles of the monarchy, and their perpetual and unalterable enjoyment should be assured by a solemn law, which should so define the rights both of the monarch and of the people that their violation shall hereafter be impossible.

Granting of subsidies

8. Among these rights the following should be especially noted: the nation should hereafter be subject only to such laws and taxes as it shall itself freely ratify.

Regular meetings of the Estates General

9. The meetings of the Estates General of the kingdom should be fixed for definite periods, and the subsidies judged necessary for the support of the State and the public service should be voted for no longer a period than to the close of the year in which the next meeting of the Estates General is to occur.

Vote by head

10. In order to assure to the third estate the influence to which it is entitled in view of the number of its members, the amount of its contributions to the public treasury, and the manifold interests which it has to defend or promote in the national assemblies, its votes in the assembly should be taken and counted by head.

No exemptions from taxes

11. No order, corporation, or individual citizen may lay claim to any pecuniary exemptions. . . . All taxes should be assessed on the same system throughout the nation.

Privileges of the nobility in holding office to be abolished

12. The due exacted from commoners holding fiefs should be abolished, and also the general or particular regulations which exclude members of the third estate from certain positions, offices, and ranks which have hitherto been bestowed on nobles either for life or hereditarily. A law should be passed declaring members of the third estate qualified to fill all such offices for which they are judged to be personally fitted.

Lettres de Cachet

13. Since individual liberty is intimately associated with national liberty, his Majesty is hereby petitioned not to permit

that it be hereafter interfered with by arbitrary orders for imprisonment. . . .

14. Freedom should be granted also to the press, which should however be subjected, by means of strict regulations, to the principles of religion, morality, and public decency. Freedom of the press

. . . . . .

60. The third estate of the district of Carcassonne places its trust, for the rest, in the zeal, patriotism, honor, and probity of its deputies in the National Assembly in all matters which may accord with the beneficent views of his Majesty, the welfare of the kingdom, the union of the three estates, and the public peace.

Madame de Campan, one of the queen's ladies in waiting, gives some account in her well-known *Memoirs* of the arrival of the deputies of the third estate and of their prejudice against Marie Antoinette and the court.

116. The opening of the Estates General (From Madame de Campan's *Memoirs*)

The Estates General opened May 4. For the last time the queen appeared in royal magnificence. . . . The first session of the Estates was held next day. The king delivered his address with assurance and dignity. The queen told me that he gave the matter much attention, and rehearsed his speech frequently in order to be quite master of the intonations of his voice. His Majesty gave public indications of his attachment and deference for the queen, who was applauded; but it was easy to see that the applause was really meant for the king alone.

Mirabeau and the court

From the very early sessions it was clear that Mirabeau would prove very dangerous to the government. It is alleged that he revealed at this time to the king, and more particularly to the queen, a part of the plans he had in mind, and the conditions upon which he would abandon them. He had already exhibited the weapons with which his eloquence and audacity furnished him, in order that he might open negotiations with the party he proposed to attack. This man played at revolution in order to gain a fortune. The queen told me at this time that he asked for an embassy, — Constantinople, if I remember rightly. He was refused with that proper contempt

which vice inspires, but which policy would doubtless best have disguised, if the future could have been foreseen.[1]

Alarm of the court

The general enthusiasm which prevailed during the early sessions of the Assembly, the discussions among the deputies of the third estate and nobility, and even of the clergy, filled their Majesties and those attached to the cause of monarchy with increasing alarm. . . . The deputies of the third estate arrived at Versailles with the deepest prejudices against the court. The wicked sayings of Paris never fail to spread throughout the provinces. The deputies believed that the king indulged in the pleasures of the table to a shameful excess. They were persuaded that the queen exhausted the treasury of the State to gratify the most unreasonable luxury.

Almost all wished to visit the Little Trianon.[2] The extreme simplicity of this pleasure house did not correspond with their ideas. Some insisted that they be shown even the smallest closets, on the ground that some richly furnished apartments were being concealed from them. At last they designated one which they declared was said to be decorated throughout with diamonds and twisted columns set with sapphires and rubies. The queen could not get these silly ideas out of her head and told the king about them. He thought, from the description of the room furnished to the guards in the Trianon, that the deputies had in mind the decoration of imitation diamonds in the theater at Fontainebleau constructed in Louis XV's reign.

Arthur Young (see above, p. 229) arrived in Paris about a month after the Estates had come together. He reports (June 8, 1789):

117. Arthur Young visits the National Assembly (June, 1789)

The king, court, nobility, clergy, army, and parliament [i.e. *parlements*] are nearly in the same situation. All these consider with equal dread the ideas of liberty now afloat, except the

[1] The queen abhorred Mirabeau, who had scandalized even the court by his private immorality. His attempts to save the king and queen (see below, pp. 262 *sqq.*) were viewed as vulgar plots for his own advancement.

[2] A simple little pleasure house in a secluded part of the gardens at Versailles, much beloved by the queen on account of its retirement.

first, who, for reasons obvious to those who know his character, troubles himself little, even with circumstances that concern his power the most intimately. . . .

The business going forward at present in the pamphlet shops of Paris is incredible. I went to the Palais Royal to see what new things were published, and to procure a catalogue of all. Every hour produces something new. Thirteen came out to-day, sixteen yesterday, and ninety-two last week. The innumerable pamphlets

Nineteen twentieths of these productions are in favor of liberty, and commonly violent against the clergy and the nobility. I have to-day bespoke many of this description that have reputation; but inquiring for such as had appeared on the other side of the question, to my astonishment I find there are but two or three that have merit enough to be known.

But the coffee-houses in the Palais Royal present yet more singular and astonishing spectacles: they are not only crowded within, but other expectant crowds are at the doors and windows, listening *à gorge déployé* to certain orators, who from chairs or tables harangue each his little audience. The eagerness with which they are heard, and the thunder of applause they receive for every sentiment of more than common hardiness or violence against the present government, cannot easily be imagined. I am all amazement at the ministry permitting such nests and hotbeds of sedition and revolt, which disseminate amongst the people every hour principles that by and by must be opposed with vigor; and therefore it seems little short of madness to allow the propagation at present. The speakers at the Palais Royal in Paris

Everything conspires to render the present period in France critical. The want of bread is terrible; accounts arrive every moment from the provinces of riots and disturbances, and calling in the military to preserve the peace of the markets. . . . Scarcity of food

June 15. This has been a rich day, and such an one as ten years ago none could believe would ever arrive in France; a very important debate being expected on what, in our House of Commons, would be termed the state of the nation. My friend, Monsieur Lazowski, and myself were at Versailles at eight in the morning. We went immediately to the hall of the estates to secure good seats in the gallery; we found some Arthur Young describes the important session of June 15

deputies already there, and a pretty numerous audience collected. The room is too large; none but stentorian lungs or the finest, clearest voices can be heard. However, the very size of the apartment, which admits two thousand people, gave a dignity to the scene. It was indeed an interesting one. The spectacle of the representatives of twenty-five millions of people, just emerging from the evils of two hundred years of arbitrary power, and rising to the blessings of a freer constitution, assembled with open doors under the eye of the public, was framed to call into animated feelings every latent spark, every emotion of a liberal bosom; to banish whatever ideas might intrude of their being a people too often hostile to my own country, and to dwell with pleasure on the glorious idea of happiness to a great nation.

Abbé Sieyès

Monsieur l'Abbé Sieyès opened the debate. He is one of the most zealous sticklers for the popular cause; carries his ideas not to a regulation of the present government, which he thinks too bad to be regulated at all, but wishes to see it absolutely overturned, — being in fact a violent republican: this is the character he commonly bears, and in his pamphlets he seems pretty much to justify such an idea. He speaks ungracefully and uneloquently, but logically, — or rather reads so, for he read his speech, which was prepared. His motion, or rather string of motions, was to declare themselves the representatives known and verified of the French nation, admitting the right of all absent deputies [namely, those of the nobility and clergy] to be received among them on the verification of their powers.

Mirabeau's speech

Monsieur de Mirabeau spoke without notes for near an hour, with a warmth, animation, and eloquence that entitles him to the reputation of an undoubted orator. He opposed the words "known" and "verified," in the proposition of Abbé Sieyès, with great force of reasoning, and proposed in lieu that they should declare themselves simply *Représentatives du peuple Françoise;* that no *veto* should exist against their resolves in any other assembly; that all [existing] taxes are illegal, but should be granted during the present sessions of the states, and no longer; that the debt of the king should become the debt of the nation, and be secured on funds accordingly.

Monsieur de Mirabeau was well heard, and his proposition much applauded.

Disorderly method of procedure in the Assembly

In regard to their general method of proceeding, there are two circumstances in which they are very deficient. The spectators in the galleries are allowed to interfere in the debates by clapping their hands, and other noisy expressions of approbation: this is grossly indecent; it is also dangerous; for if they are permitted to express approbation, they are, by parity of reason, allowed expressions of dissent, and they may hiss as well as clap; which it is said they have sometimes done: this would be to overrule the debate and influence the deliberations.

Another circumstance is the want of order among themselves. More than once to-day there were an hundred members on their legs at a time, and Monsieur Bailly absolutely without power to keep order.

Section 35. First Reforms of the National Assembly (July to October, 1789)

The abolition of the feudal system, which took place during the famous night session of August 4–5, 1789, was caused by the reading of a report on the misery and disorder which prevailed in the provinces. The report declares that "letters from all the provinces indicate that property of all kinds is a prey to the most criminal violence; on all sides châteaux are being burned, convents destroyed, and farms abandoned to pillage. The taxes, the feudal dues, — all are extinct; the laws are without force, and the magistrates without authority." With the hope of pacifying and encouraging the people, the Assembly, in a fervor of enthusiasm and excitement, straightway abolished many of the ancient abuses. The document here given is the revised decree, completed a week later.

118. Decree abolishing the feudal system

ARTICLE I. The National Assembly hereby completely abolishes the feudal system. It decrees that, among the existing rights and dues, both feudal and *censuel*,[1] all those originating in or representing real or personal serfdom shall be abolished without indemnification. All other dues are declared redeemable, the terms and mode of redemption to be fixed by the National Assembly. Those of the said dues which are not extinguished by this decree shall continue to be collected until indemnification shall take place.

Extinction of all hunting rights

II. The exclusive right to maintain pigeon houses and dovecotes is abolished. The pigeons shall be confined during the seasons fixed by the community. During such periods they shall be looked upon as game, and every one shall have the right to kill them upon his own land.

III. The exclusive right to hunt and to maintain uninclosed warrens is likewise abolished, and every landowner shall have the right to kill, or to have destroyed on his own land, all kinds of game, observing, however, such police regulations as may be established with a view to the safety of the public.

All hunting *capitaineries*,[2] including the royal forests, and all hunting rights under whatever denomination, are likewise abolished. Provision shall be made, however, in a manner compatible with the regard due to property and liberty, for maintaining the personal pleasures of the king.

The president of the Assembly shall be commissioned to ask of the king the recall of those sent to the galleys or exiled, simply for violations of the hunting regulations, as well as for the release of those at present imprisoned for offenses of this kind, and the dismissal of such cases as are now pending.

Manorial courts suppressed

IV. All manorial courts are hereby suppressed without indemnification. But the magistrates of these courts shall continue to perform their functions until such time as the National Assembly shall provide for the establishment of a new judicial system.

Tithes abolished

V. Tithes of every description, as well as the dues which have been substituted for them, under whatever denomination

[1] This refers to the *cens*, a perpetual due similar to the payments made by English copyholders. [2] See above, p. 140.

they are known or collected (even when compounded for), possessed by secular or regular congregations, by holders of benefices, members of corporations (including the Order of Malta and other religious and military orders), as well as those devoted to the maintenance of churches, those impropriated to lay persons, and those substituted for the *portion congrue*,[1] are abolished, on condition, however, that some other method be devised to provide for the expenses of divine worship, the support of the officiating clergy, for the assistance of the poor, for repairs and rebuilding of churches and parsonages, and for the maintenance of all institutions, seminaries, schools, academies, asylums, and organizations to which the present funds are devoted. Until such provision shall be made and the former possessors shall enter upon the enjoyment of an income on the new system, the National Assembly decrees that the said tithes shall continue to be collected according to law and in the customary manner.

Other tithes, of whatever nature they may be, shall be redeemable in such manner as the Assembly shall determine. Until this matter is adjusted, the National Assembly decrees that these, too, shall continue to be collected.

VI. All perpetual ground rents, payable either in money or in kind, of whatever nature they may be, whatever their origin and to whomsoever they may be due, . . . shall be redeemable at a rate fixed by the Assembly. No due shall in the future be created which is not redeemable.

VII. The sale of judicial and municipal offices shall be abolished forthwith. Justice shall be dispensed *gratis*. Nevertheless the magistrates at present holding such offices shall continue to exercise their functions and to receive their emoluments until the Assembly shall have made provision for indemnifying them.

Sale of offices discontinued

VIII. The fees of the country priests are abolished, and shall be discontinued so soon as provision shall be made for increasing the minimum salary [*portion congrue*] of the parish priests and the payment to the curates. A regulation shall be drawn up to determine the status of the priests in the towns.

[1] This expression refers to the minimum remuneration fixed for the priests.

Exemptions from taxation abolished

IX. Pecuniary privileges, personal or real, in the payment of taxes are abolished forever. Taxes shall be collected from all the citizens, and from all property, in the same manner and in the same form. Plans shall be considered by which the taxes shall be paid proportionally by all, even for the last six months of the current year.

All local differences in the law abolished

X. Inasmuch as a national constitution and public liberty are of more advantage to the provinces than the privileges which some of these enjoy, and inasmuch as the surrender of such privileges is essential to the intimate union of all parts of the realm, it is decreed that all the peculiar privileges, pecuniary or otherwise, of the provinces, principalities, districts, cantons, cities, and communes are once for all abolished and are absorbed into the law common to all Frenchmen.

XI. All citizens, without distinction of birth, are eligible to any office or dignity, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military; and no profession shall imply any derogation.

Papal powers reduced

XII. Hereafter no remittances shall be made for annates or for any other purpose to the court of Rome, the vice legation at Avignon, or to the nunciature at Lucerne. The clergy of the diocese shall apply to their bishops in regard to the filling of benefices and dispensations, the which shall be granted *gratis* without regard to reservations, expectancies, and papal months, all the churches of France enjoying the same freedom.

XIII. [This article abolishes various ecclesiastical dues.]

Pluralities

XIV. Pluralities shall not be permitted hereafter in cases where the revenue from the benefice or benefices held shall exceed the sum of three thousand livres. Nor shall any individual be allowed to enjoy several pensions from benefices, or a pension and a benefice, if the revenue which he already enjoys from such sources exceeds the same sum of three thousand livres.

Pensions

XV. The National Assembly shall consider, in conjunction with the king, the report which is to be submitted to it relating to pensions, favors, and salaries, with a view to suppressing all such as are not deserved, and reducing those which shall prove excessive; and the amount shall be fixed which the king may in the future disburse for this purpose.

XVI. The National Assembly decrees that a medal shall be struck in memory of the recent grave and important deliberations for the welfare of France, and that a Te Deum shall be chanted in gratitude in all the parishes and the churches of France.

XVII. The National Assembly solemnly proclaims the king, Louis XVI, the *Restorer of French Liberty*.

XVIII. The National Assembly shall present itself in a body before the king, in order to submit to him the decrees which have just been passed, to tender to him the tokens of its most respectful gratitude, and to pray him to permit the Te Deum to be chanted in his chapel, and to be present himself at this service.

XIX. The National Assembly shall consider, immediately after the constitution, the drawing up of the laws necessary for the development of the principles which it has laid down in the present decree. The latter shall be transmitted by the deputies without delay to all the provinces, together with the decree of the 10th of this month, in order that it may be printed, published, read from the parish pulpits, and posted up wherever it shall be deemed necessary.

A declaration of the rights of man, which had been demanded by many of the *cahiers*, was the part of the new constitution which the Assembly decided (August 4) should be first drawn up. The members recognized that they were imitating an American precedent in doing this. Our first state constitutions, several of which were preceded by elaborate bills of rights, had very early been translated into French.

Almost every one of the articles in the Declaration of the Rights of Man recalls some abuse of the *Ancien Régime*. This document has, moreover, exercised a great influence upon Europe, and was imitated in many of the constitutions drawn up during the nineteenth century in the several European states.

119. Declaration of the rights of man

The representatives of the French people, organized as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public calamities and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, being constantly before all the members of the social body, shall remind them continually of their rights and duties; in order that the acts of the legislative power, as well as those of the executive power, may be compared at any moment with the objects and purposes of all political institutions and may thus be more respected; and, lastly, in order that the grievances of the citizens, based hereafter upon simple and incontestable principles, shall tend to the maintenance of the constitution and redound to the happiness of all. Therefore the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and of the citizen:

ARTICLE 1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.

2. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.

4. Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.

5. Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law.

6. Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative,

in its formation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents.

7. No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law. Any one soliciting, transmitting, executing, or causing to be executed, any arbitrary order, shall be punished. But any citizen summoned or arrested in virtue of the law shall submit without delay, as resistance constitutes an offense.

8. The law shall provide for such punishments only as are strictly and obviously necessary, and no one shall suffer punishment except it be legally inflicted in virtue of a law passed and promulgated before the commission of the offense.

9. As all persons are held innocent until they shall have been declared guilty, if arrest shall be deemed indispensable, all harshness not essential to the securing of the prisoner's person shall be severely repressed by law.

10. No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

11. The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.

12. The security of the rights of man and of the citizen requires public military forces. These forces are, therefore, established for the good of all and not for the personal advantage of those to whom they shall be intrusted.

13. A common contribution is essential for the maintenance of the public forces and for the cost of administration. This should be equitably distributed among all the citizens in proportion to their means.

14. All the citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representatives, as to the necessity of the public contribution; to grant this freely; to know to what uses it is

put; and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection and the duration of the taxes.

15. Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration.

16. A society in which the observance of the law is not assured, nor the separation of powers defined, has no constitution at all.

17. Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.

Section 36. The National Assembly at Paris (October, 1789, to September, 1791)

Mirabeau is generally recognized as the ablest statesman in France during the opening of the Revolution. After the mob had carried off the king to Paris during the "October Days," Mirabeau was, in spite of the king's and queen's abhorrence and distrust of him, brought into relations with the court and permitted to give advice which, however, was never taken. His first communication to the king (October 15) furnishes a wonderful picture of the situation in France and the dangers to which the king was exposed in Paris. There is scarcely a feature of the approaching reign of terror which escapes Mirabeau's prophetic insight. The king, shortly after Mirabeau's death (in April, 1791), tried to escape from France in precisely the manner against which the great statesman had most urgently warned him and with precisely the results which Mirabeau forecast.

The king could not refuse to come to Paris, and whether the National Assembly could have refused to follow him or

120. Mirabeau's advice to the king in October, 1789 (Extracts)

not, it had not, in any case, the power to detain him. Is the king free in Paris? He is, in the sense that no foreign will has taken the place of his own, but he is certainly not at liberty to leave Paris. He may not select those who guard his person; he cannot even exercise any direct control over the militia to whom his safety is confided. The National Assembly is free in Paris so far as its deliberations are concerned, but it could not adjourn to another town in the kingdom, nor can it guarantee to the delegate of the nation[1] more freedom than he already has.

Danger of disorder in Paris

Will the king enjoy in Paris entire personal security even? Placed as he is, the least mischance may compromise his safety! It is threatened by external movements, commotions within, party divisions, the errors of enthusiasm and of impatience, and, above all, by the violent collision of the capital with the provinces.

Although Paris is powerful, it contains many causes for disturbance. Its inhabitants, when excited, are irresistible. Winter is approaching and food may be wanting. Bankruptcy may be declared. What will Paris be three months hence? Assuredly a poorhouse, perhaps a theater of horrors. Is it to such a place that the head of the nation should intrust his existence and our only hope?

Necker's incapacity

The ministers are without resources. Only one of them enjoys any popularity, and he has always been supported rather by certain enthusiastic admirers than by a party. But his resources are well known, and he has just shown himself in his true light. His empty brain has never contemplated more than to prop up here and there an edifice which is giving away at every point. He is anxious to prolong the death agony until the moment he has chosen for his political retirement, when, as in 1781, he plans to leave an alleged balance between the receipts and expenditures, and some millions in the royal treasury. What will become of the nation after this useless attempt, which renders bankruptcy inevitable? We are only weary and discouraged as yet; it is the moment of despair which is to be feared. . . .

[1] The king.

Public strength lies only in public opinion and in the revenues of the State. But every bond of public opinion is severed. Only the direct taxes are paid at all, and these only partially, although the half of our taxes are indirect. Several years will be required to replace what six months have just destroyed, and the impatience of the people, which is increased by their misery, is apparent on every hand.

General loss of respect for the National Assembly

A still more fatal emergency is to be anticipated. The National Assembly, which is so badly constituted in principle, composed as it is of discordant factions laboriously brought together, can see that each day the confidence in its work is diminishing. . . .

The respect which an exalted title and a great revolution seen from afar inspires, as well as hope, so essential to the people, still sustains it. But each day this great cause is deserted by a portion of those who make public opinion, although it demands the closest coöperation of every faction and party in the realm. The people are, moreover, only informed of the almost inevitable mistakes of a legislative body which is too numerous, whose footing is insecure, and which has gone through no apprenticeship: no emphasis is laid upon the ease with which such mistakes could be corrected by the next legislature. The only way to save the State and the nascent constitution is to put the king in a position which will allow him, without delay, to unite with his people.

King's critical position in Paris

Paris has long swallowed up the taxes of the kingdom. Paris is the seat of the financial régime which the provinces loathe. Paris has created the debt. Paris, by its miserable stock gambling, has destroyed public credit, and has compromised the honor of the nation. Must the National Assembly, too, regard this city only, and sacrifice the whole kingdom for it? Several provinces fear that the capital will dominate the Assembly and direct the course of its work.

What, then, is to be done? Is the king free? His freedom is not complete, nor is it recognized. Is the king safe? I do not think so. Can even Paris save him alone? No; Paris is lost if she is not brought to order and forced to moderation. Will the National Assembly finish its session without being

harassed by the disturbances which a thousand circumstances lead us to anticipate? He would be bold, certainly, who should guarantee this!

Should no successful effort be made to give another direction to public opinion, to enlighten the people as to their true interests, to prepare, by instructions given to constituents, the spirit of the new legislature, will the State recover its tranquillity, the army its strength, the executive power its influence, and the monarch his real rights, whose exercise is essential to public liberty? Or will the monarchy be shaken to its foundation and very probably dismembered, — that is to say, dissolved? It is easy to foresee what is to be apprehended by what has already happened. Some measures must obviously be taken, as all the facts clearly indicate.

The king should on no account flee to the boundary

Several methods present themselves, but there are those which would entail the most terrible evils, and which I only mention to deter the king from a course which would mean certain destruction. To withdraw to Metz — or upon any other frontier — would be to declare war upon the nation and abdicate the throne. A king, who is the only safeguard of his people, does not fly before his people. . . . He does not excite all manner of suspicion against himself, nor does he place himself in a position where he can only reënter his possessions with arms in his hands, or be reduced to supplicate foreign aid.

Who can say to what a state of frenzy the French nation might be aroused if it saw its king abandoning it in order to join a group of exiles, and become one of them himself, or how it would prepare for resistance and oppose the forces he might collect? Even I should denounce the monarch after such an act.

The popular distrust of the nobility

To withdraw into the interior of the kingdom and call together the entire nobility would be a policy no less hazardous. Justly or not, the whole nation, which in its ignorance confuses nobility and aristocracy, has long looked upon the gentry *en masse* as their implacable enemies. The abolition of the feudal system was the expiation of ten centuries of madness. The disturbance might have been lessened, but now it is too late, and the decree is irrevocable. To join the nobility would be

worse than for the king to throw himself upon a foreign and hostile army. He has to choose between a great nation and a few individuals, between peace and civil war carried on upon exceedingly unequal terms. . . .

It is certain, in short, that a great revolution is necessary to save the kingdom; that the nation has rights, that it is on the way to recover them all, and that it is not sufficient simply to reëstablish them, but they must be consolidated; that a national convention can alone regenerate France; that the Assembly has already made several laws which it is indispensable to adopt; and that there is no safety for the king and for the State except in the closest alliance between the monarch and his people.

All the methods which I have mentioned having been rejected, I will make the following observations upon a final plan which is certainly not without peril. . . .

The king should retire to Rouen and summon the Assembly to him

Having taken certain precautions, the king may leave his palace in open day and retire to Rouen. He should select that city or its environs, because it is the center of the kingdom, because . . . such a choice proclaims that there is no intention of flight, and that the only object is to conciliate the provinces. . . .

Before the king's departure a proclamation should be prepared, addressed to all the provinces, in which the king should say, among other things, that he is about to throw himself into the arms of his people; that violence has been done him at Versailles; that he was in a measure watched at Paris, and was not free to come and go, as every citizen is and ought to be. For the truth of these statements proofs should be furnished.

The king should say, moreover, that he recognizes that this situation serves as an excuse to the ill disposed not to obey the decrees of the National Assembly and the sanction given by him to these decrees, all of which could easily compromise a revolution in which he is as much interested as the most ardent friends of liberty; that he hopes to be inseparable from his people, and that the selection which he has made of Rouen proves this beyond controversy; that he is the first king of his race who has formed the purpose of investing the nation

with all its rights, and that he has persisted in this design in spite of his ministers and the counsels by which princes are corrupted; that he has adopted without reserve such and such decrees of the National Assembly; that he renews his sanction and acceptance, and that his sentiments in this matter are unchangeable.

The proclamation should announce that the king is about to call the National Assembly to him in order that it may continue its work, but that he will soon summon a new convention to judge, confirm, modify, and ratify the work of the first Assembly.

The king should state that he is ready to submit to the greatest personal sacrifices, since there are to be no more promises of economy which are never carried out; that he will live like a private individual; that a million will suffice him for his personal expenses and those incurred as head of a family; that he asks no more, and requires but a single table for himself and his family; that all the luxury of the throne should consist in the perfecting of the civil government and in the wise liberality of distinctly national outlays. . . .

The king should declare that, although he has resolved upon all possible personal sacrifice, he by no means holds that the same retrenchment can be applied to all the payments which have, for a long time, been granted to a host of citizens who have at present no other means of support, and he requests the nation to consider that public peace is not to be successfully reëstablished by ruining and driving to despair so many thousand persons; that for the rest, he takes his people to witness as to his personal conduct in the past; that he will not subdue them by arms, but by his love; that he confides his honor and safety to French loyalty; that he only wishes the happiness of the citizens, and that his own pleasure is of no further importance.

This proclamation of a good king, this peace manifesto, firm in its spirit but well calculated to win the confidence of the people, ought to be forwarded by extraordinary couriers to all the provinces, and all those in command should be notified to be on their guard. . . .

On February 11, 1790, the National Assembly issued a declaration to the French nation in which it summed up its achievements during the previous six months of its existence.

121. The National Assembly reviews its achievements during the previous six months (February, 1790)

The National Assembly, as it progresses in its work, is receiving upon every hand the felicitations of the provinces, cities, and villages, testimonials of the public satisfaction and expressions of grateful appreciation; but murmurs reach it as well, from those who are affected or injured by the blows aimed at so many abuses and prejudices. While occupied with the welfare of all, the Assembly is solicitous in regard to individual ills. It can forgive prejudice, bitterness, and injustice, but it feels it to be one of its duties to warn you against the influence of calumny, and to quiet the empty terrors which some are vainly trying to arouse in you. To what have they not resorted in order to mislead and discourage you? They pretend to be unaware of the good that the National Assembly has accomplished; this we propose to recall to your mind. Objections have been raised against what has been done; these we propose to meet. Doubts and anxiety have been disseminated as to what we propose to do in the future; this we will explain to you.

What has the Assembly accomplished? In the midst of storms it has, with a firm hand, traced the principles of a constitution which will assure your liberty forever. The rights of man had been misconceived and insulted for centuries; they have been reëstablished for all humanity in that declaration, which shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors and as a law for the legislators themselves. The nation had lost the right to decree both the laws and the taxes; this right has been restored to it, while at the same time the true principles of monarchy have been solemnly established, as well as the inviolability of the august head of the nation and the heredity of the throne in a family so dear to all Frenchmen.

Formerly you had only the Estates General; now you have a National Assembly of which you can never be again deprived.

In the Estates General the several orders, which were necessarily at odds and under the domination of ancient pretensions, dictated the decrees and could check the free action of the national will. These orders no longer exist; all have disappeared before the honorable title of *citizen*. All being citizens alike, you demanded citizen-defenders and, at the first summons, the National Guard arose, which, called together by patriotism and commanded by honor, has everywhere maintained or established order and watches with untiring zeal over the safety of each for the benefit of all. The Estates General converted into a National Assembly

Privileges without number, irreconcilably at enmity with every good, made up our entire public law. These have been destroyed, and, at the word of this Assembly, the provinces which were the most jealous of their own privileges applauded their disappearance, feeling that they gained rather than lost thereby. A vexatious feudal system, powerful even in its ruin, covered the whole of France; it has now disappeared, never to return. In the provinces you were subject to a harassing administration; from this you have been freed. Arbitrary commands threatened the liberty of the citizens; they have been done away with. You desired a complete organization of the municipalities; this you have just received, and the creation of these bodies, chosen by your votes, offers, at this moment, a most imposing spectacle. At the same time, the National Assembly has finished the task of a new division of the kingdom, which alone might serve to remove the last trace of former prejudices, substitute for provincial selfishness the true love for one's country, and serve as the basis of a just system of representation.[1] . . . Abolition of privileges

This, Frenchmen, is our work, or rather yours, for we are only your organ, and you have enlightened, encouraged, and sustained us in our labors. What a glorious period is this which we at last enjoy! How honorable the heritage which you may transmit to your posterity! Raised to the rank of citizens; admissible to every form of employment; enlightened censors

[1] The enumeration of a few further reforms is here omitted. The Assembly notes the abolition of the sale of offices and the partial extinction of the salt tax.

of the administration when it is not actually in your hands; certain that all will be done by you and for you; equal before the law; free to act, to speak, to write; owing no account to individuals but always to the common will; — what condition more happy! Is there a single citizen worthy of the name who would dare look back, who would rebuild once more the ruins which surround us, in order again to contemplate the former structure?

The Assembly replies to the accusations made against it

Yet what has not been said and done to weaken the natural impressions which such advantages should produce upon you? It is urged that we have destroyed everything; everything must, then, be reconstructed. But what is there which need be so much regretted? If we would know, let those be questioned in regard to the objects of reform or destruction who did not profit by them; let even men of good faith be questioned who did profit by them. But let us leave one side those who, in order to ennoble the demands of purely personal interests, now choose as the objects of their commiseration the fate of those to whom they were formerly quite indifferent. We may then judge if each subject of reform does not enjoy the approval of all of those whose opinions should be considered.

Some say that we have acted too precipitately, as many others proclaim that we have been too deliberate. Too much precipitation! Does not every one know that only by attacking and overthrowing all the abuses at the same time can we hope to be freed from them without danger of their return; that then, and then only, every one becomes interested in the reëstablishment of order; that slow and partial reforms have always resulted in no reform at all, and that an abuse preserved becomes the support, and before long the means of restoring all those which we thought to have destroyed?

Our meetings are said to be disorderly; what of that, if the decrees which proceed from them are wise? We are indeed far from wishing to hold up for your admiration the details of all our debates. More than once they have been a source of annoyance to us, but at the same time we have felt that it was very unjust to take advantage of this disorder; and indeed this impetuosity is the almost inevitable effect of the first conflict

which has perhaps ever been fought by every right principle against every form of error.

We are accused of having aspired to a chimerical perfection. A curious reproach indeed, which, if one looks at it closely, proves to be only an ill-disguised desire for the perpetuation of the abuses. The National Assembly has not allowed itself to be influenced by motives of servile interest or pusillanimity. It has had the courage, or rather the sense, to believe that useful ideas, essential to the human race, were not destined simply to adorn the pages of a book, and that the Supreme Being, when he granted the attribute of perfectibility to man, did not forbid him to apply this peculiar appanage of his nature to the social organization, which has become the most comprehensive of his interests and almost the most important of his needs.

It is impossible, some say, to regenerate an old and corrupt nation. Let such objectors learn that there is nothing corrupt but those who wish to perpetuate corrupting abuses, and that a nation becomes young again the moment it resolves to be born anew in liberty. Behold the regeneration! How the nation's heart already beats with joy and hope, and how pure, elevated, and patriotic are its sentiments! With what enthusiasm do the people daily solicit the honor of being allowed to take the oath of citizen! — but why consider so despicable a reproach? Shall the National Assembly be reduced to excuse itself for not having rendered the French people desperate?

But we have done nothing for the people, their pretended friends cry on all sides. Yet it is the people's cause which is everywhere triumphant. Nothing done for the people! Does not every abuse which is abolished prepare the way for, and assure to them, relief? Is there an abuse which does not weigh upon the people? They do not complain, — it is because the excess of their ills has stifled complaint. They are now unhappy, — say better that they are still unhappy, — but not for long; that we swear.

We have destroyed the power of the executive — no, say rather the power of the ministers, which, in reality, formerly destroyed or often degraded the executive power. We have

enlightened the executive power by showing it its true rights; we have, above all, ennobled it by bringing it to the true source of its power, the power of the people. The executive power is now without force, — against the constitution and the law, that is true, but in support of them it will be more powerful than ever before.

The people are aroused, — yes, for its defense, and with reason. But, it is urged, in several places there have been unfortunate occurrences. Should the National Assembly be reproached for these? Should disasters be attributed to it which it mourns, which it would have prevented and arrested by the force of its decrees, and which the union, hereafter indissoluble, between the two powers and the irresistible action of all the national forces will doubtless check?

We have exceeded our powers. The reply is simple. We were incontestably sent to make a constitution; this was the wish and the need of the whole of France. But was it possible to create a constitution and form an even imperfect body of constitutional decrees, without the plenitude of power which we have exercised? We will say more: without the National Assembly France was lost; without the recognition of the principle which has governed all our decrees, of submitting the decision of every matter to a majority of votes, freely cast, it is impossible to conceive, we will not say a constitution, but even the prospect of destroying permanently the least of the abuses.

This principle embodies an eternal truth and has been recognized throughout France. It receives recognition in a thousand ways in the numerous ratifications which oppose the swarm of libels reproaching us for exceeding our powers. These addresses, felicitations, compliments, and patriotic resolutions, — what a conclusive confirmation do they constitute of those powers which some would contest!

These, Frenchmen, are the reproaches which have been directed against your representatives in the mass of culpable writings in which a tone of civic grief is assumed. But their authors flatter themselves in vain that we are to be discouraged. Our courage is redoubled; you will not long wait for

the results.[1] . . . We will pursue our laborious task, devoting ourselves to the great work of drawing up the constitution — your work as well as ours. We will complete it, aided by the wisdom of all France.

122. The civil constitution of the clergy (July 12, 1790)

The reorganization of the Church, which followed upon the confiscation of its vast possessions, is an excellent illustration of the spirit of the National Assembly. The demand for complete uniformity and simplification is especially pronounced in the reform of this most venerable institution of France, the anomalies and intricacies of which were hallowed not only by age but by religious reverence. The chief articles of the decree are given below, and indicate how completely the Assembly desired to bring the Church under rules similar to those which they were drawing up for the State.

The National Assembly, after having heard the report of the ecclesiastical committee, has decreed and do decree the following as constitutional articles:

Title I

New bishoprics to coincide with the departments

Article I. Each department shall form a single diocese, and each diocese shall have the same extent and the same limits as the department.

II. The seat of the bishoprics of the eighty-three departments of the kingdom shall be established as follows: that of the department of the Lower Seine at Rouen; that of the department of Calvados at Bayeux.[2] . . .

All other bishoprics in the eighty-three departments of the kingdom, which are not included by name in the present article, are, and forever shall be, abolished.

[1] The reforms which the Assembly announces for the future are omitted here. The chief were an enlightened system of taxes, a reorganization of the Church, new codes of the criminal and civil law, and a national system of education.

[2] The names of the remaining episcopal sees are here omitted.

The kingdom shall be divided into ten metropolitan districts, of which the sees shall be situated at Rouen, Rheims, Besançon, Rennes, Paris, Bourges, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Aix, and Lyons. These archbishoprics shall have the following denominations: that of Rouen shall be called the Archbishopric of the Coast of the Channel.[1] . . .

The jurisdiction of no foreign bishops to be any longer recognized

IV. No church or parish of France nor any French citizen may acknowledge upon any occasion, or upon any pretext whatsoever, the authority of an ordinary bishop or of an archbishop whose see shall be under the supremacy of a foreign power, nor that of his representatives residing in France or elsewhere; without prejudice, however, to the unity of the faith and the intercourse which shall be maintained with the visible head of the universal Church, as hereafter provided.

New parish divisions

VI. A new arrangement and division of all the parishes of the kingdom shall be undertaken immediately in concert with the bishop and the district administration.

General abolition of ancient ecclesiastical offices

XX. All titles and offices other than those mentioned in the present constitution, all dignities, canonries, prebends, half prebends, chapels, chaplainships, both in cathedral and collegiate churches, all regular and secular chapters for either sex, abbacies and priorships, both regular and *in commendam*, for either sex, as well as all other benefices and prestimonies in general, of whatever kind or denomination, are from the day of this decree extinguished and abolished and shall never be reëstablished in any form.

Title II

Election of bishops and priests by the regular voters

ARTICLE I. Beginning with the day of publication of the present decree, there shall be but one mode of choosing bishops and parish priests, namely by election.

II. All elections shall be by ballot and shall be decided by the absolute majority of the votes.

III. The election of bishops shall take place according to the forms and by the electoral body designated in the decree of December 22, 1789, for the election of members of the departmental assembly.

[1] The remaining names of the archbishoprics are here omitted.

VI. The election of a bishop can only take place or be undertaken upon Sunday, in the principal church of the chief town of the department, at the close of the parish mass, at which all the electors are required to be present.

VII. In order to be eligible to a bishopric, one must have fulfilled for fifteen years at least the duties of religious ministry in the diocese, as a parish priest, officiating minister, or curate, or as superior, or as directing vicar of the seminary.

XIX. The new bishop may not apply to the Pope for any form of confirmation, but shall write to him, as to the visible head of the universal Church, as a testimony to the unity of faith and communion maintained with him.

Bishops required to take an oath to support the new constitution

XXI. Before the ceremony of consecration begins, the bishop elect shall take a solemn oath, in the presence of the municipal officers, of the people, and of the clergy, to guard with care the faithful of his diocese who are confided to him, to be loyal to the nation, the law, and the king, and to support with all his power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the king.

XXV. The election of the parish priests shall take place according to the forms and by the electors designated in the decree of December 22, 1789, for the election of members of the administrative assembly of the district.

XL. Bishoprics and cures shall be looked upon as vacant until those elected to fill them shall have taken the oath above mentioned.

Title III

Salaries of bishops and priests

ARTICLE I. The ministers of religion, performing as they do the first and most important functions of society and forced to live continuously in the place where they discharge the offices to which they have been called by the confidence of the people, shall be supported by the nation.

II. Every bishop, priest, and officiating clergyman in a chapel of ease shall be furnished with a suitable dwelling, on condition, however, that the occupant shall make all the necessary current repairs. This shall not affect at present, in any way, those parishes where the priest now receives a money

equivalent instead of his dwelling. The departments shall, moreover, have cognizance of suits arising in this connection, brought by the parishes and by the priests. Salaries shall be assigned to each, as indicated below.

III. The bishop of Paris shall receive fifty thousand livres; the bishops of the cities having a population of fifty thousand or more, twenty thousand livres; other bishops, twelve thousand livres.

V. The salaries of the parish priests shall be as follows: in Paris, six thousand livres; in cities having a population of fifty thousand or over, four thousand livres; in those having a population of less than fifty thousand and more than ten thousand, three thousand livres; in cities and towns of which the population is below ten thousand and more than three thousand, twenty-four hundred livres. In all other cities, towns, and villages where the parish shall have a population between three thousand and twenty-five hundred, two thousand livres; in those between twenty-five hundred and two thousand, eighteen hundred livres; in those having a population of less than two thousand, and more than one thousand, the salary shall be fifteen hundred livres; in those having one thousand inhabitants and under, twelve hundred livres.

VII. The salaries *in money* of the ministers of religion shall be paid every three months, in advance, by the treasurer of the district.

XII. In view of the salary which is assured to them by the present constitution, the bishops, parish priests, and curates shall perform the episcopal and priestly functions *gratis*.

Title IV

Bishops and priests must remain in residence and perform their duties

ARTICLE I. The law requiring the residence of ecclesiastics in the districts under their charge shall be strictly observed. All vested with an ecclesiastical office or function shall be subject to this, without distinction or exception.

II. No bishop shall absent himself from his diocese more than two weeks consecutively during the year, except in case of real necessity and with the consent of the directory of the department in which his see is situated.

III. In the same manner, the parish priests and the curates may not absent themselves from the place of their duties beyond the term fixed above, except for weighty reasons, and even in such cases the priests must obtain the permission both of their bishop and of the directory of their district, and the curates that of the parish priest.

VI. Bishops, parish priests, and curates may, as active citizens, be present at the primary and electoral assemblies; they may be chosen electors, or as deputies to the Legislative Body, or as members of the general council of their communes or of the administrative councils of their districts or departments.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC

Section 37. The Abolition of the Monarchy (1791–1792)

The National Assembly, which had done so much to reform France, was drawing to a close in the summer of 1791, after two years of arduous labor. It was subjecting the new constitution, which it had been drafting, to a final revision before it left the task of government to the king and the Legislative Assembly, after carefully defining and restricting the powers of both. The flight of the king toward the eastern frontier, on June 20, 1791, served to show how slight was the chance that the new government would succeed, when the monarch was ready to desert his people in order to put himself in the hands of foreign powers and of the runaway nobles. The impression that the news of the king's flight made upon the people of Paris is described by Prudhomme, a well-known journalist of the time, in his newspaper.

123. How the Parisians viewed the flight of the king (June 20, 1791) (From Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris*)

It was not until ten o'clock in the morning that the municipal government announced, by firing a cannon thrice, the unexpected event of the day. But for three hours the news had already been passing from mouth to mouth and was circulating in all quarters of the city. During these three hours many outrages might have been committed. The king had gone. This news produced a moment of anxiety, and everybody ran in a crowd to the palace of the Tuileries to see if it were true; but every one turned almost immediately to the hall where the National Assembly met, declaring that their king was in there and that Louis XVI might go where he pleased.

Then the people became curious to visit the apartments vacated by the royal family; they traversed them all, and we questioned the sentinels we found there, "Where, and how, could he have escaped? How could this fat royal person, who complained of the meanness of his lodging, manage to make himself invisible to the sentries, — he whose girth would stop up any passage?" The soldiers of the guard had nothing to say to this. We insisted: "This flight is not natural; your commanders must have been in the plot, . . . for while you were at your post Louis XVI left his without your knowing it and yet passing close to you." These reflections, which naturally suggested themselves, account for the reception which made Lafayette pale when he appeared in the Place de Grève and passed along the quays. He took refuge in the National Assembly, where he made some confessions that did little to restore him to popular favor.

Far from being "famished for a glimpse of the king," the people proved, by the way in which they took the escape of Louis XVI, that they were sick of the throne and tired of paying for it. If they had known, moreover, that Louis XVI, in his message, which was just then being read in the National Assembly, complained "that he had not been able to find in the palace of the Tuileries the most simple conveniences of life," the people might have been roused to some excess; but they knew their own strength and did not permit themselves any of those little exhibitions of vengeance which are natural to irritated weakness.

Conduct of the populace in the royal apartments

They contented themselves with making sport, in their own way, of royalty and of the man who was invested with it. The portrait of the king was taken down from its place of honor and hung on the door. A fruit woman took possession of Antoinette's bed and used it to display her cherries, saying, "It 's the nation's turn now to be comfortable." A young girl refused to let them put the queen's bonnet on her head and trampled on it with indignation and contempt. They had more respect for the dauphin's study, — but we should blush to give a list of the titles of the books which his mother had selected for him.

The streets and public squares offered a spectacle of another kind. The national force deployed itself everywhere in an imposing manner. The brave Santerre alone enrolled two thousand pikemen in his *faubourg*. These were not the "active" citizens and the royal bluecoats, that were enjoying the honors of the celebration. The woolen caps reappeared and eclipsed the bearskins. The women contested with the men the duty of guarding the city gates, saying, "It was the women who brought the king to Paris and the men who let him escape." But do not boast too loudly, ladies; it was not much of a present, after all.

The prevailing spirit was apathy in regard to kings in general and contempt for Louis XVI in particular. This showed itself in the least details. On the Place de Grève the people broke up a bust of Louis XVI, which was illuminated by that celebrated lantern which had been a source of terror to the enemies of the Revolution. When will the people execute justice upon all these bronze kings, monuments of our idolatry? In the Rue St. Honoré they forced a dealer to sacrifice a plaster head which somewhat resembled Louis XVI. In another shop they contented themselves with putting a paper band over his eyes. The words "king," "queen," "royal," "Bourbon," "Louis," "court," "Monsieur," "the king's brother," were effaced wherever they were found on pictures or on the signs over shops and stores.

While the National Assembly naturally tried to shield the king after his unmistakable attempt to escape beyond the boundaries of France, many leaders in the clubs denounced him as a traitor and demanded his deposition. A petition was drafted in which the National Assembly was requested to regard the flight of Louis XVI as tantamount to his abdication. This was submitted on July 17 to the crowds which collected on the Champ de Mars in Paris. Some disorder having arisen, the crowd treated the National Guard with disrespect, and

the command was finally given to fire upon the people. Lafayette, then head of the guard, and others tried later to justify the harsh command, and were furiously attacked by Marat in his famous newspaper, *The People's Friend.* The following extract from it furnishes a good illustration of the attitude of the violent republicans at this time:

124. Marat attacks Lafayette and the royalists

O credulous Parisians! can you be duped by these shameful deceits and cowardly impostures? See if their aim in massacring the patriots was not to annihilate your clubs! Even while the massacre was going on, the emissaries of Mottier [i.e. Lafayette] were running about the streets mixing with the groups of people and loudly accusing the fraternal societies and the club of the Cordeliers of causing the misfortunes. The same evening the club of the Cordeliers, wishing to come together, found the doors of their place of meeting nailed up. Two pieces of artillery barred the entrance to the Fraternal Society, and only those conscript fathers who were sold to the court were permitted to enter the Jacobin Club, by means of their deputy's cards.

Not satisfied with annihilating the patriotic associations, these scoundrels violate the liberty of the press, annihilate the Declaration of Rights — the rights of nature. Cowardly citizens, can you hear this without trembling? They declare the oppressed, who, in order to escape their tyranny, would make a weapon of his despair and counsel the massacre of his oppressors, a disturber of the public peace. They declare every citizen a disturber of the public peace who cries, in an uprising, to the ferocious satellites to lower or lay down their arms, thus metamorphosing into crimes the very humanity of peaceful citizens, the cries of terror and natural self-defense.

Infamous legislators, vile scoundrels, monsters satiated with gold and blood, privileged brigands who traffic with the monarch, with our fortunes, our rights, our liberty, and our lives! You thought to strike terror into the hearts of patriotic writers and paralyze them with fright at the sight of the punishments you inflict. I flatter myself that they will not soften. As for *The Friend of the People*, you know that for a long time your

decrees directed against the Declaration of Rights have been waste paper to him. Could he but rally at his call two thousand determined men to save the country, he would proceed at their head to tear out the heart of the infernal Mottier in the midst of his battalions of slaves. He would burn the monarch and his minions in his palace, and impale you on your seats and bury you in the burning ruins of your lair.

The flight of the king, his arrest at Varennes, and the agitation which accompanied and followed the affair led the queen's brother, the Emperor Leopold, to issue, in concert with the king of Prussia, the Declaration of Pillnitz. This was regarded by the French as an expression of sympathy for the *Émigrés* and as a promise to form a European alliance for the purpose of undoing the Revolution in France. To those who signed the declaration it was, however, scarcely more than an empty threat, which they had little idea of carrying out.

125. The Declaration of Pillnitz (August 27, 1791)

His Majesty the Emperor and his Majesty the king of Prussia, having given attention to the wishes and representations of Monsieur [the brother of the king of France], and of Monsieur le Comte d'Artois, jointly declare that they regard the present situation of his Majesty the king of France as a matter of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe. They trust that this interest will not fail to be recognized by the powers, whose aid is solicited; and that in consequence they will not refuse to employ, in conjunction with their said majesties, the most efficient means, in proportion to their resources, to place the king of France in a position to establish, with the most absolute freedom, the foundations of a monarchical form of government, which shall at once be in harmony with the rights of sovereigns and promote the welfare of the French nation. In that case[1] their said majesties the

[1] Namely, in case the other powers agreed to join them in checking the Revolution. The signers of the declaration well knew that England would not associate itself with them for such a purpose and that consequently their threat would not be executed.

emperor and the king of Prussia are resolved to act promptly and in common accord with the forces necessary to obtain the desired common end.

In the meantime they will give such orders to their troops as are necessary in order that these may be ready to be called into active service.

LEOPOLD
FREDERICK WILLIAM

PILLNITZ, August 27, 1791

The views of the more conservative royalists in regard to the work of the National Assembly are expressed in the following editorial in the well-known periodical, *Le Mercure de France*. This article was written by Mallet du Pan, the editor, who, although he clearly realized the vices of the *Ancien Régime* and did not wish it restored, nevertheless held, like many thoughtful men of the time, that the Assembly had been very unwise in its methods.

126. Opinion of a conservative royalist on the work of the National Assembly

The Constitutional Assembly cannot fail, without denying positive and accepted facts, to recognize that, as a result of its doctrines and action, it leaves every religious principle destroyed, morals in the last stage of degradation, free sway to every vice, the rights of property violated and undermined, our forces, both land and naval, in a worse state than at the opening of its reign; that it has shaken, if not destroyed, the foundation of all military organization; that it leaves our finances in chaos, the public debt considerably augmented, the annual deficit, according to the most favorable calculators, increased by half, the taxes in arrears, their payment suspended, having struck at their very roots by the recklessness of an absolutely new system of which the immediate effects have been to make the people regard themselves as freed from taxation.

It cannot disguise from itself that our influence and reputation in Europe are eclipsed; that our commerce is less flourishing, our industry less productive, our population less

numerous; that our labor has decreased as well as the national wealth; that it has caused the disappearance of the specie and dissipated an enormous amount of the public capital; that, finally, our internal police, in spite of numerous guards, is more oppressive and less effective than it was before the Revolution.

We will add, what no one can deny, that the number of unfortunates of all classes has increased to a most frightful extent.; that misery and despair cast a funeral pall over the songs of triumph, the illuminations, the Te Deums and congratulatory speeches. I do not speak of the clergy and nobility; their condition and birth having rendered them criminal in the eyes of the dominant party, their misfortunes are undoubtedly well-merited punishments, and four or five hundred private individuals, having declared themselves inviolable, have assumed the right to determine their fate as the judge determines that of criminals; but I ask that a single class of Frenchmen, except the stockbrokers, be pointed out to me whose fortunes have not diminished and whose resources and prosperity have not been painfully affected!

In order justly to appreciate the conduct of our first lawmakers, we must avoid the sophism by which they have constantly fascinated the common people, — that of comparing the present situation of France with the disastrous results of the most horrible despotism. That is a false standpoint to which knaves and fools are always careful to revert. A vast number of citizens do not desire the old any more than the new régime, and the reproaches heaped upon the latter have no bearing on the reform of the older system. In order to overcome the disapprobation of the citizens it must be proved that, without the action of the Assembly and the public and private calamities which this has involved, France would never have gained freedom, the security of person and property, safety (which is the first condition of a good government), peace (which is its sign), political equality, plenty, strength, order, and general consideration. It would, moreover, have to be proved that the Assembly had not the power to choose other institutions; that no middle course presented

itself, and that the only government adapted to the existing exigencies was that which the Assembly proclaimed, since no other offered such obvious advantages or a more evidently propitious future.

The spontaneous origin of the Jacobin Club, which was to play such a conspicuous rôle in the Revolution, is here described by one of its prominent early members, Alexandre de Lameth. The society grew with astonishing rapidity. By December, 1790, there were eleven hundred names enrolled upon the list of Paris members, and by June, 1791, the affiliated clubs throughout the provinces numbered four hundred and six. It must not be supposed that the Jacobins represented a well-defined policy or defended a single set of political opinions. Nor were they by any means always in agreement among themselves. For example, in the winter of 1791–1792 a strong party among them opposed the growing tendency to involve France in a war with Europe. Lameth makes clear the way in which the society supplemented the National Assembly.

127. How the Jacobin Club originated in 1789

After the transfer of the Assembly to Paris [October, 1789], the deputies from provinces which were distant from the capital, and who, for the most part, had never visited Paris (for traveling was not so easy then as it is now), experienced a sort of terror at the idea of being alone and, so to speak, lost in the midst of this huge city. They almost all, consequently, endeavored to lodge as near as possible to the Assembly, which then sat near the Feuillants (at the point where the Rue de Rivoli and the Rue Castiglione now intersect), in order that they might be easily found in case of necessity. But they were desirous that there should also be a place where they might meet to agree upon the direction of public matters. They applied to residents of the capital in whom they had confidence; a search was made in the neighborhood of the

Assembly, and the refectory of the convent of the Jacobins was leased for two hundred francs a year. The necessary furniture, which consisted of chairs and tables for the committee, was procured for a like sum.

At the first session about one hundred deputies were present, the next day double that number. The Baron de Menou was elected president, and Target, Barnave, Alexandre de Lameth, Le Chapelier, and Adrien du Port were elected secretaries, as well as three others whose names have escaped me. A committee was chosen to draw up a list of regulations, of which Barnave was the chairman. The society decided on the name Friends of the Constitution. It was determined that all members of the Assembly should be admitted, but only such other persons should be received as had published useful works. The first to be thus received were Condorcet, the Marquis de Casotte, a distinguished economist, the Abbé Lecamus, a mathematician, and a small number of other savants or publicists.

The aim of the Society of the Friends of the Constitution was to discuss questions which were already, or were about to be placed, upon the calendar of the National Assembly. It cannot be denied that, inasmuch as the nondeputies present exercised no restraint upon these discussions, they often had more force and brilliancy than in the Assembly itself, where one found himself hindered by the violent contradictions of the right wing, and often intimidated by a crowd of spectators.

The preliminary consideration shed a great deal of light upon the discussions in the Assembly. The resolve to select within the society itself, by preliminary ballots, the nominees for president, secretaries, and the committees of the Assembly, proved a great advantage to the popular party; for from that time the elections were almost always carried by the left, although up to that time they had been almost entirely controlled by the right. Camus, an ecclesiastical lawyer, then president and since become a republican, had been elected by the aristocracy.

The number of the deputies who customarily frequented the Society of the Friends of the Constitution quickly rose to nearly four hundred. The number of writers also increased

in a marked ratio. But it was not long before the condition of having published a useful book was no longer required for admission to the society, and it was decided that it was sufficient to have been recommended by six members. The organization then grew larger, and no longer possessed the same solidity in its composition. Very soon the place of meeting became insufficient, and permission was obtained from the monks of the convent to meet in their library, and later, in their church.

Along in December, 1789, many of the leading inhabitants of the provinces, having come to Paris either on private business or to follow more closely the course of public affairs, had themselves introduced at the society and expressed a desire to establish similar ones in the chief cities of France ; for they felt that these associations of citizens intent upon defending the cause of public interest would form an efficient means of counteracting the violent opposition of the aristocracy, a class which had not yet lost the power which it had so long exercised.

The early months of the Legislative Assembly were mainly occupied with the policy to be pursued toward three classes of opponents to the Revolution, — the runaway nobles, the foreign powers, who seemed ready to aid them, and, at home, the members of the clergy, who refused to support the new constitution. The king was also regarded with the greatest suspicion. Since the flight to Varennes and the Declaration of Pillnitz it seemed clear to both the Assembly and the people at large that the king was in all probability relying upon help from foreign powers. That they were quite right in this assumption has since been proved by the discovery of letters like the following which Louis was at the time secretly dispatching to his fellow-monarchs.

PARIS, December 3, 1791

My Brother :

I have learned through M. du Moustier of the interest which your Majesty has expressed not only in my person but also in

128. Letter of Louis XVI to the king of Prussia suggesting foreign intervention in French affairs

the welfare of my kingdom. In giving me these proofs, the attitude of your Majesty has, in all cases where your interest might prove advantageous to my people, excited my lively appreciation. I confidently take advantage of it at this time when, in spite of the fact that I have accepted the new constitution, seditious leaders are openly exhibiting their purpose of entirely destroying the remnants of the monarchy. I have just addressed myself to the emperor, the empress of Russia, and to the kings of Spain and Sweden; I am suggesting to them the idea of a congress of the chief powers of Europe, supported by an armed force, as the best means of checking seditious parties, of establishing a more desirable order of things, and of preventing the evil which afflicts us from reaching the other states of Europe.

I trust that your Majesty will approve my ideas, and that you will maintain the most absolute secrecy about the proposition I am making to you. You will easily understand that the circumstances in which I find myself force me to observe the greatest caution. That is why no one but the baron of Breteuil is informed of my plans, and your Majesty may therefore communicate to him anything you wish. . . .

Your good brother,

Louis

The king not unnaturally refused to sanction the edicts which the Assembly directed against the emigrant nobles, but he wrote to his brothers expostulating with them for increasing his unpopularity by their impolitic language and their intrigues with foreign powers.

On October 31, on motion of the Girondist, Isnard, the Assembly bluntly ordered the king's older brother, the count of Provence, to return to France on pain of losing all rights to the regency.

Louis Stanislas Xavier, Prince of France:

The National Assembly requires you in virtue of the French constitution, title III, chapter ii, section 3, article 2, to return

to the kingdom within a period of two months from to-day, failing which you will, after the expiration of the said period, lose your contingent right to the regency.

129. The count of Provence summoned back to France; and his impudent reply to the Assembly

On December 6 the count published the above order in Coblenz (the *Émigrés'* center of activity), with the following counter-proclamation of his own.

Members of the French Assembly, calling itself National:

Sanity requires you, in virtue of title I, chapter i, section 1, article 1, of the imprescriptible laws of common sense, to return to yourselves within a period of two months from to-day, failing which you will, after the expiration of the said period, be regarded as having lost your right to be considered reasonable beings, and will be regarded as madmen, fit for the insane asylum.

Since the opening of the Legislative Assembly most of the Girondists had been advocating war, which they believed would force the king to take a definite stand either with or against the nation. When war was finally declared against Austria, April 20, the Assembly assigned the following reasons for its action:

130. The French Assembly declares war on Austria

The National Assembly, deliberating upon the formal proposition of the king, in view of the fact that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has not ceased to extend open protection to French rebels;

That it has instigated and formed a concert with several of the powers of Europe directed against the independence and safety of the French nation;

Reasons for war

That Francis I, king of Hungary and Bohemia, has, by his diplomatic notes of the 18th of March and the 7th of April last, refused to renounce this concert;

That, in spite of the proposition made to him by the note of March 11, 1792, to reduce to a peace basis the troops upon the frontiers, he has continued, and hastened, hostile preparations;

That he has formally attacked the sovereignty of the French nation by declaring his intention of maintaining the claims of the German princes who hold territory in France, whom the French nation has repeatedly offered to indemnify;

That he has endeavored to divide the citizens of France, and arm them against one another by holding out to the malcontents the hope of assistance from a concert of the powers;

And that, finally, by his refusal to reply to the last dispatches of the king of France, he leaves no hope of obtaining, by way of friendly negotiation, the redress of these several grievances, — which is equivalent to a declaration of war; — the Assembly decrees that immediate action is urgent.

Firm purpose of the French to make no conquests

The National Assembly proclaims that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by its constitution, "not to undertake any war with a view to conquest nor ever to employ its forces against the liberty of any people," only takes up arms for the maintenance of its liberty and independence;

That the war which it is forced to prosecute is not a war of nation against nation, but the just defense of a free people against the unjust aggression of a king;

That the French nation never confuses its brethren with its real enemies;

That it will neglect nothing which may reduce the curse of war, spare and preserve property, and cause all the unhappiness inseparable from war to fall alone upon those who have conspired against its liberty;

That it adopts in advance all foreigners who, abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall range themselves under its banners and consecrate their efforts to the defense of liberty; and that it will promote by all means in its power their settling in France.

Deliberating upon the formal proposition of the king and after having decreed the matter one of urgent importance, the Assembly decrees war against the king of Hungary and of Bohemia.

The victories of the Austrians which followed the declaration of war called forth harsh measures against

enemies at home, namely, such of the clergy as had been roused to opposition by the radical ecclesiastical reforms of the Assembly. The decree of May 27, 1792, ordered the expulsion from the realm of those clergymen who refused to take the oath to the constitution. The king increased his unpopularity by refusing to sanction this measure of the Assembly.

131. Decree against the nonjuring clergy

. . . The National Assembly, considering that the efforts which the nonjuring clergymen are constantly making to overthrow the constitution preclude the supposition that these said ecclesiastics desire to unite in the social compact; considering that it would compromise the public safety longer to regard as members of society men who are evidently seeking to dissolve it; and in view of the fact that the laws are without force against men such as these who, operating upon the conscience in order to seduce the people, nearly always conceal their criminal maneuvers from those who might repress and punish them, decrees as follows:

Definition of nonjuring clergymen

1. The deportation of nonjuring ecclesiastics shall take place as a measure of public security and of the general police power, in the cases and according to the forms hereinafter set forth.

2. All those shall be considered as nonjuring ecclesiastics who, being subject to the oath prescribed by the law of December 26, 1790, shall not have taken it; those also, not included in the said law, who have not taken the civic oath since September 3, last, the day when the French constitution was declared completed; finally, those who shall have retracted either oath.

3. When twenty active citizens of the same canton shall unite in a demand for the deportation of a nonjuring ecclesiastic, the directory of the department shall be required to pronounce the deportation if the opinion of the district directory is in conformity with the petition.

. . . . . .

15. When an ecclesiastic against whom deportation has been pronounced is enjoying no pension or revenue, he shall

receive three livres for each day's journey of ten leagues, as far as the frontiers, in order to support him on the way. These charges shall be borne by the public treasury and advanced by the treasury of the district in which the said ecclesiastic resides.

16. Those ecclesiastics against whom deportation has been pronounced who shall remain in the kingdom after announcing their retirement, or who shall return again after crossing the boundary, shall be condemned to imprisonment for ten years.

The demands for the suspension of Louis XVI, who was generally believed to be in traitorous correspondence with the Austrians and Prussians, became numerous in the summer of 1792; but it remained for the duke of Brunswick to assure the downfall of the monarchy by his proclamation, which became known in Paris, July 28, and seemed to furnish the agitators with a complete justification for the revolt which they were already planning and which they carried out on August 10.

132. The proclamation of the duke of Brunswick (July 25, 1792)

Their Majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia having intrusted to me the command of the united armies which they have collected on the frontiers of France, I desire to announce to the inhabitants of that kingdom the motives which have determined the policy and aims of the two sovereigns.

Accusations against those who have "usurped" the power in France

After arbitrarily violating the rights of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, disturbing and overthrowing good order and legitimate government in the interior of the realm, committing against the sacred person of the king and his august family outrages and brutalities which continue to be renewed daily, those who have usurped the reins of government have at last completed their work by declaring an unjust war on his Majesty the emperor and attacking his provinces situated in the Low Countries. Some of the territories of the Germanic empire have been effected by this oppression, and others have only escaped the same fate by yielding to the threats of the dominant party and its emissaries.

His Majesty the king of Prussia, united with his Imperial Majesty by the bonds of a strict defensive alliance and himself a preponderant member of the Germanic body, would have felt it inexcusable to refuse to march to the help of his ally and fellow-member of the empire. . . .

Aims of the allies

To these important interests should be added another aim equally important and very close to the hearts of the two sovereigns, — namely, to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France, to check the attacks upon the throne and the altar, to reëstablish the legal power, to restore to the king the security and the liberty of which he is now deprived and to place him in a position to exercise once more the legitimate authority which belongs to him.

Convinced that the sane portion of the French nation abhors the excesses of the faction which dominates it, and that the majority of the people look forward with impatience to the time when they may declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors, his Majesty the emperor and his Majesty the king of Prussia call upon them and invite them to return without delay to the path of reason, justice, order, and peace. In accordance with these views, I, the undersigned, the commander in chief of the two armies, declare:

The allied courts meditate no conquests

1. That, drawn into this war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts aim only at the welfare of France, and have no intention of enriching themselves by conquests.

They purpose to free the French king

2. That they do not propose to meddle in the internal government of France, and that they merely wish to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and procure for his Most Christian Majesty the necessary security to enable him, without danger or hindrance, to make such engagements as he shall see fit, and to work for the welfare of his subjects, according to his pledges.

Forgiveness for those who coöperate with the allies

3. That the allied armies will protect the towns and villages, and the persons and goods of those who shall submit to the king and who shall coöperate in the immediate reëstablishment of order and the police power throughout France.

4. . . . That, on the contrary, the members of the National Guard who shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts,

Threats against those who oppose the invaders

and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies and punished as rebels to their king and as disturbers of the public peace. . . .

7. That the inhabitants of the towns and villages who may dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties and fire on them, either in the open country or through windows, doors, and openings in their houses, shall be punished immediately according to the most stringent laws of war, and their houses shall be burned or destroyed. . . .

Fate of Paris if it permits the king to come to harm

8. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction shall be required to submit at once and without delay to the king, to place that prince in full and complete liberty, and to assure to him, as well as to the other royal personages, the inviolability and respect which the law of nature and of nations demands of subjects toward sovereigns. . . . Their said Majesties declare, on their word of honor as emperor and king, that if the chateau of the Tuileries is entered by force or attacked, if the least violence be offered to their Majesties the king, queen, and royal family, and if their safety and their liberty be not immediately assured, they will inflict an ever memorable vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction, and the rebels guilty of the said outrages to the punishment that they merit. . . .

Finally, I pledge myself, in my own name and in my said capacity, to cause the troops intrusted to my command to observe good and strict discipline, promising to treat with kindness and moderation all well-intentioned subjects who show themselves peaceful and submissive, and to use force only against those who shall be guilty of resistance and ill will.

It is for these reasons that I call upon and exhort in the most urgent manner all the inhabitants of the kingdom not to oppose the movements and operations of the troops which I command, but rather, on the contrary, to grant them everywhere a free passage and to assist and aid them with all good will as circumstances shall demand.

Given at the headquarters at Coblenz, July 25, 1792.

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,
Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg

Section 38. The Reign of Terror

Louis XVI had been suspended August 10 on account of the misgivings which his conduct inspired. The debate carried on six weeks later, during the opening session of the Convention, September 21, 1792, well illustrates the attitude of the new Assembly toward the ancient monarchy and serves to introduce some of the men who were soon to be most active during the Reign of Terror.

133. The debate during the first session of the Convention

The citizens chosen by the French people to form the National Convention having assembled to the number of three hundred and seventy-one, and having examined the credentials of the members, declare that the National Convention is organized. . . .

M. Manuel. Representatives of the sovereign people: the task which devolves upon you demands the power and wisdom of gods themselves. When Cineas entered the Roman senate he thought he beheld an assembly of kings. Such a comparison would be an insult to you. Here we see an assembly of philosophers occupied in preparing the way for the happiness of the world. I move that the president of France have his residence in the national palace, that the symbols of law and power be always at his side, and that every time that he opens a session all the citizens shall rise. This act of homage to the sovereignty of the people will constantly recall to us our rights and duties.

M. Simon. I move that the Assembly declare that they will never deliberate except in the presence of the people.

The President. Your motion, having no relation to the previous motion, I cannot give the floor to those who wish to support or oppose your proposition until the Assembly has passed upon the motion of Monsieur Manuel.

M. Mathieu. I am doubtful whether the discussion suggested by Monsieur Manuel should take precedence in our deliberations. Our predecessors lost much time in determining

the exact dimensions of the chair of the former king. We do not wish to commit the same error. . . .

M. Chabot. Representatives of the people: I oppose the motion made by Citizen Manuel. I am astonished that Citizen Manuel, after having repudiated every idea of any comparison with kings, should propose to make one of our members like a king. The French nation, by sending to the Convention two hundred members of the legislative body who have individually taken an oath to combat both kings and royalty, has made itself quite clear as to its desire to establish a popular government. It is not only the *name* of king that it would abolish but everything which suggests preëminence, so that there will be no president of France. You cannot look for any other kind of dignity than associating with the *sans-culottes* who compose the majority of the nation. Only by making yourselves like your fellow-citizens will you acquire the necessary dignity to cause your decrees to be respected. . . .

M. Tallien. I am much astonished to hear this discussion about ceremonials. . . . Outside of this hall the president of the Convention is a simple citizen. If you want to speak to him, you can go and look for him on the third or the fifth floor. There is where virtue has its lodging. . . .

The Assembly unanimously rejected the motion of Monsieur Manuel.

M. Tallien. I move that before everything else the Assembly take a solemn pledge not to separate till it has given the French people a government established on the foundations of liberty and equality. I move that the members take an oath to make no laws which depart from this standard, and that this oath shall constantly guide the representatives of the people in their work. Those who shall perjure themselves shall be immolated to the just vengeance of the people. . . . [*Applause.*]

M. Merlin. I move that we do not take any oaths. Let us promise the people to save them. Let us go to work.

M. Couthon. . . . I am not afraid that in the discussion which is about to take place, any one will dare to speak of royalty again; it is fit only for slaves, and the French would be unworthy of the liberty which they have acquired should

they dream of retaining a form of government branded by fourteen centuries of crime. But it is not royalty alone that must be eliminated from our constitution, but every kind of individual power which tends to restrict the rights of the people and violate the principles of equality. . . .

M. Philippeaux. There is a still more pressing subject; that is, to furnish the organs of the law the necessary power to maintain public tranquillity. I move that you maintain provisionally in power all the authorities now in existence. . . .

M. Camus. The most essential thing is to order that the taxes continue to be collected, for you know that they have to be voted at the opening of every new legislature.

The motions of Messieurs Philippeaux and Camus were unanimously passed. . . .

M. Collot d'Herbois. You have just taken a wise resolution, but there is one which you cannot postpone until the morrow, or even until this evening, or indeed for a single instant, without being faithless to the wish of the nation, — that is the abolition of royalty. [*Unanimous applause.*]

M. Quinette. We are not the judges of royalty; that belongs to the people. Our business is to make a concrete government, and the people will then choose between the old form where there was royalty and that which we shall submit to them. . . .

M. Grégoire. Assuredly no one of us would ever propose to retain in France the fatal race of kings; we all know but too well that dynasties have never been anything else than rapacious tribes who lived on nothing but human flesh. It is necessary completely to reassure the friends of liberty. We must destroy this talisman, whose magic power is still sufficient to stupefy many a man. I move accordingly that you sanction by a solemn law the abolition of royalty.

The entire Assembly rose by a spontaneous movement and passed the motion of Monsieur Grégoire by acclamation.

M. Bazire. I rise to a point of order. . . . It would be a frightful example for the people to see an Assembly commissioned with its dearest interests voting in a moment of enthusiasm. I move that the question be discussed.

M. Grégoire. Surely it is quite unnecessary to discuss what everybody agrees on. Kings are in the moral order what monsters are in the physical. Courts are the workshops of crimes, the lair of tyrants. The history of kings is the martyrology of nations. Since we are all convinced of the truth of this, why discuss it? I demand that my motion be put to vote, and that later it be supplied with a formal justification worthy of the solemnity of the decree.

M. Ducos. The form of your decree would be only the history of the crimes of Louis XVI, a history already but too well known to the French people. I demand that it be drawn up in the simplest terms. There is no need of explanation after the knowledge which has been spread abroad by the events of August 10.

The discussion was closed. There was a profound silence. The motion of Monsieur Grégoire, put to vote, was adopted amidst the liveliest applause:

"The National Convention decrees that royalty is abolished in France."

The Convention, after ridding France of the institution of monarchy, proposed to make its armies a means of propagating liberty and reform throughout Europe. It accordingly prepared a proclamation to be published in those countries which already were, or should be, occupied by the armies of the new French republic.

134. Proclamation to nations whose tyrants have been driven out by the French republican armies (December 15, 1792)

The French people to the people of ; brothers and friends:

We have conquered our liberty and we shall maintain it. We offer to bring this inestimable blessing to you, for it has always been rightly ours, and only by a crime have our oppressors robbed us of it. We have driven out your tyrants. Show yourselves free men, and we will protect you from their vengeance, their machinations, or their return.

From this moment the French nation proclaims the sovereignty of the people, the suppression of all civil and military authorities which have hitherto governed you and of all the taxes which you bear, under whatever form; the abolition of

the tithe, of feudalism, of seigniorial rights and monopolies of every kind, of serfdom, whether real or personal, of hunting and fishing privileges, of the *corvée*, the salt tax, the tolls and local imposts, and, in general, of all the various kinds of taxes with which you have been loaded by your usurpers; it also proclaims the abolition among you of all noble and ecclesiastical corporations and of all prerogatives and privileges opposed to equality. You are, from this moment, brothers and friends; all are citizens, equal in rights, and all are alike called to govern, to serve, and to defend your country.[1]

Upon the execution of Louis XVI, his brother, the count of Provence, formally announced to his fellow-*Émigrés* the tragedy which their conduct had done so much to consummate.

HAMM, WESTPHALIA, January 28, 1793

Gentlemen:

135. The count of Provence announces the death of Louis XVI to the *Émigrés*

It is with sentiments of the deepest grief that I impart to you the new loss which we have just experienced in the king, my brother, whom the tyrants, who for so long a time have been desolating France, have sacrificed to their sacrilegious rage. This horrible event brings with it new duties for me which I propose to fulfill. I have taken the title of regent of the kingdom, which the right of birth gives me during the minority of King Louis XVII, my nephew, and I have delegated to the count of Artois that of lieutenant general of the kingdom.

Your sentiments are too well proved by your constancy and the numerous sacrifices that you have made, in your attachment to the religion of your fathers and to the sovereign whom we mourn to-day, to make it necessary to exhort you

[1] In the decree of the Convention to which the above proclamation was appended, we find (Article 11):

The French nation declares that it will treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or treat with the prince and the privileged classes; on the other hand, it engages not to subscribe to any treaty and not to lay down its arms until the sovereignty and independence of the people whose territory the troops of the republic shall have entered shall be established, and until the people shall have adopted the principles of equality and founded a free and democratic government.

to redouble your zeal and fidelity toward our young and unfortunate monarch and your ardor in avenging the blood of his august father. We cannot fail to enjoy the support of the sovereigns who have already so generously embraced our cause; and if it is possible for us to find any consolation, it lies in the opportunity offered us to avenge our king, to place his son upon the throne, and to restore to our country that ancient constitution which can alone serve as a basis for its happiness and glory. This is the sole object of my solicitude and of that of my brother. Our titles have been changed, but our union is and will always remain the same, and we shall endeavor with more ardor than ever to fulfill our duty towards God, our honor, the king, and you.

LOUIS STANISLAS XAVIER

Among the terrorists none was more ardent and indefatigable than Saint-Just, a young fanatic of unimpeachable probity, who, as member of the Committee of Public Safety and as agent of the Convention in the provinces, urged on the war against all the enemies of the Revolution, whether within or without France. He was a firm friend and admirer of Robespierre and suffered death with him on the 10th Thermidor (July 28, 1794). He left behind him some unpublished notes on republican institutions written during his last months, when he foresaw that, among so many opponents of his exalted ideas, he was likely to lose his life. The few selections which are given below serve to show how Saint-Just, Robespierre, and their sympathizers proposed to elaborate and carry out, at the cost of no matter how much bloodshed, the ideas of Rousseau, whose ardent disciples they were.

I challenge you to establish liberty so long as it remains possible to arouse the unfortunate classes against the new order of things, and I defy you to do away with poverty altogether

136. Selections from the *Republican Institutions of Saint-Just*

unless each one has his own land. . . . Where you find large landowners you find many poor people. Nothing can be done in a country where agriculture is carried on on a large scale. Man was not made for the workshop, the hospital, or the poor-house. All that is horrible. Men must live in independence, each with his own wife and his robust and healthy children. We must have neither rich nor poor.

The poor man is superior to government and the powers of the world; he should address them as a master. We must have a system which puts all these principles in practice and assures comfort to the entire people. Opulence is a crime: it consists in supporting fewer children, whether one's own or adopted, than one has thousands of francs of income. . . .

Children shall belong to their mother, provided she has suckled them herself, until they are five years old; after that they shall belong to the republic until death. The mother who does not suckle her children ceases to be a mother in the eyes of the country. Child and citizen belong to the country, and a common instruction is essential. Children shall be brought up in the love of silence and scorn for fine talkers. They shall be trained in laconic speech. Games shall be prohibited in which they declaim, and they shall be habituated to simple truth.

The boys shall be educated, from the age of five to sixteen, by the country; from five to ten they shall learn to read, write, and swim. No one shall strike or caress a child. They shall be taught what is good and left to nature. He who strikes a child shall be banished. The children shall eat together and shall live on roots, fruit, vegetables, milk, cheese, bread, and water. The teachers of children from five to ten years old shall not be less than sixty years of age. . . . The education of children from ten to sixteen shall be military and agricultural.

Every man twenty-one years of age shall publicly state in the temples who are his friends. This declaration shall be renewed each year during the month Ventose. If a man deserts his friend, he is bound to explain his motives before the people in the temples; if he refuses, he shall be banished. Friends shall not put their contracts into writing, nor shall

they oppose one another at law. If a man commits a crime, his friends shall be banished. Friends shall dig the grave of a deceased friend and prepare for the obsequies, and with the children of the deceased they shall scatter flowers on the grave. He who says that he does not believe in friendship, or who has no friends, shall be banished. A man convicted of ingratitude shall be banished.

The French people recognize the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. The first day of every month is consecrated to the Eternal. Incense shall burn day and night in the temples and shall be tended in turn for twenty-four hours by the men who have reached the age of sixty. The temples shall never be closed. The French people devote their fortunes and their children to the Eternal. The immortal souls of all those who have died for the fatherland, who have been good citizens, who have cherished their father and mother and never abandoned them, are in the bosom of the Eternal.

The first day of the month Germinal the republic shall celebrate the festival of the Divinity, of Nature, and of the People; the first day of the month Floréal, the festival of the Divinity, of love, and of husband and wife, etc.[1]

Every year on the first day of Floréal the people of each commune shall select, from among the inhabitants of the commune, and in the temple, a young man rich and virtuous and without deformity, at least twenty-one years of age and not over thirty, who shall in turn select and marry a poor maiden, in everlasting memory of human equality.

[1] Robespierre, in a remarkable report made to the Convention, May 7, 1794, on the relations of religious ideas to republican principles, exhibits the same confidence in festivals. Among the sentiments which he would celebrate are liberty, equality, glory, immortality, frugality, disinterestedness, stoicism, old age, and misfortune (*Histoire Parlementaire*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 353 *sqq.*). See also another similar report submitted on February 5, 1794 (*Histoire Parlementaire*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 268 *sqq.*). Compare in this connection an address of Billaud-Varennes on the theory of democratic government (*Histoire Parlementaire*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 335 *sqq.*) and Fabre d'Eglantine's report on the new calendar (*Histoire Parlementaire*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 415 *sqq.*).

The most amiable and humorous of the terrorists was Camille Desmoulins. While he was one of the very first to preach republican ideas and to propagate them through his writings, he had little of the relentless and stern fanaticism which blinded Robespierre and Saint-Just to the cruelty of the work in which they were engaged. In the autumn of 1793 Desmoulins, who was a journalist by profession, began to issue a new newspaper, which he called *The Old Cordelier*.[1] The charm of his style, his wit and learning, assured his editorials —and his newspaper was really nothing more than a periodical editorial — great popularity in Paris, and they still delight the historical student. In the third issue (December 15, 1793) he seeks to extenuate the severities of the Reign of Terror by showing, by skillfully adapted quotations from Tacitus, that the harsh measures of the new French republic were as nothing compared with the atrocities by which the early Roman emperors established their sway.

137. Camille Desmoulins seeks to extenuate the Reign of Terror by quotations from Tacitus

One difference between monarchy and a republic, which would alone serve to make every right-hearted man reject monarchy with horror and give preference to a republic, whatever it may cost to establish it, is that although the people may, in a democracy, be misled, they always esteem virtue and try to place only the upright in office, while rogues constitute the very essence of monarchy. Vice, pillage, and crime are diseases in republics, but health itself is a disease in monarchies. Cardinal Richelieu admits this in his *Political Testament*,[2] where he makes it a principle that the king should avoid employing upright men. And before him Sallust said,

[1] Desmoulins had been from the first a very active member of the club of the Cordeliers, which had been more radical and republican in sentiment than the Jacobins.

[2] See above, pp. 1 *sqq.*

"Kings cannot do without scoundrels and, on the contrary, they must be on their guard against probity." Only in a republic, then, can the good citizen ever hope to see an end to the supremacy of intrigue and crime, for in order that these may disappear it is only necessary that the people should be enlightened. . . .

And there is another difference between monarchy and a republic: the reigns of the worst of emperors — Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Caligula, Domitian — all had happy beginnings.

It is by reflections such as these that the patriot should first answer the royalist who is laughing in his sleeve over the present state of France, as if this violent and terrible condition was to last. I can hear you, my dear royalists, slyly making sport of the founders of the republic and comparing the present with the old days of the Bastile. You count on the frankness of my pen, and you think that you will follow with pleasure my faithful account of the past half year. But I know how to moderate your satisfaction, and at the same time animate the citizens to new courage. Before summoning my readers to the Place de la Révolution and showing it to them flooded with the blood that has flowed during the past six months for the eternal emancipation of a nation of twenty-five millions and not yet cleansed by liberty and the public welfare, I will begin by fixing the eyes of my fellow-citizens upon the reigns of the Cæsars, — upon that river of blood, that sewer of corruption and filth, which flows perpetually under a monarchy.

For a long time, Tacitus tells us, there had been at Rome a law which defined the crimes of state and of leze majesty which were to be punished with death. . . . The emperors had only to add a few articles to this law in order to involve both individual citizens and entire cities in a fatal proscription. Augustus was the first to extend this law of leze majesty in which he included the writings which he called counter-revolutionary. Under his successors the comprehensiveness of the law soon knew no bounds. When simple remarks had become crimes of state, it was only a step to view as criminal mere glances, sadness, compassion, sighs, — silence itself.

Soon it became a crime of leze majesty, or of counter-revolution, for the town of Nursia to raise a monument to those of its people who had fallen at the siege of Modena, fighting under Augustus himself — Augustus was at that time in alliance with Brutus, and so Nursia suffered the fate of Perugia; a crime of counter-revolution for Libo Drusus to have asked the soothsayers if he would not one day be very rich; a crime of counter-revolution for the journalist, Cremutius Cordus, to have called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans; a crime of counter-revolution for one of the descendants of Cassius to possess a portrait of his great-grandfather; a crime of counter-revolution for Mamercus Scaurus to have composed a tragedy in which was a line that might have two meanings; a crime of counter-revolution for Torquatus Silanus to spend his money; a crime of counter-revolution to complain of the disasters of the time, for this was to criticise the government. . . .

Everything offended the tyrant. Was a citizen popular? He was a rival of the prince, who might stir up civil war. *Studia civium in se verteret et si multi idem audeant, bellum esse.* Suspect. Did a citizen, on the contrary, avoid popularity and hug his own fireside? This retired life caused you to gain a certain respect. *Quanto metu occultior, tanto famae adeptus.* Suspect. Were you rich? There was danger that the populace might be corrupted by your largesses. *Auri vim atque opes Plauti principi infensas.* Suspect. Were you poor? Ha, invincible emperor! that man must be closely watched. No one is so enterprising as he who has nothing. *Syllam inopem, unde praecipuam audaciam.* Suspect.

Were you of a somber and melancholy temperament, or careless in your dress? You were disgusted that public affairs were going so well. Suspect. If, on the other hand, a citizen indulged himself in good times and indigestion, he was but rejoicing that the emperor had had an attack of gout, which was really nothing. It was necessary to let that man know that the emperor was still in the prime of life. *Reddendam pro intempestiva licentia moestam et funebrem noctem qua sentiat vivere Vitellium et imperare.* Suspect. Was he virtuous and austere in his habits? Good! a new Brutus, who durst,

by his pallid face and Jacobin peruke, to censure the curled and giddy courtier. Suspect.[1]

Now the royalists need not take the trouble to inform me that this description settles nothing, and that the reign of Louis XVI resembled in no way the sway of the Cæsars. If it did not resemble it, it is because with us despotism has long been lulled in the lap of its luxuries and has placed such confidence in the strength of the chains which our fathers have borne for fifteen centuries that it deemed terror no longer necessary. . . . But now that the people have awakened and the sword of the republic has been drawn, let royalty once more set foot in France, and then we shall see that these pictures of tyranny so well drawn by Tacitus will prove the living image of what we shall have to suffer for half a century.

Indeed, need we seek examples at such a distance? The massacres of the Champ de Mars[2] and at Nancy; the horrors committed by the Austrians on the frontiers, which Robespierre recounted to us the other night at the Jacobin Club; the conduct of the English at Genoa, of the royalists at Fougères and in the Vendée,—the violence of the factions alone shows well enough that despotism, if allowed to reënter its demolished habitation in a passion, could only establish itself again by reigning as did Augustus and Nero. In this duel between liberty and slavery and in the cruel alternative of a defeat a thousand times more bloody than our victory, it is wiser and less hazardous to carry the Revolution too far than to stop short of the goal, as Danton has said; it has been essential, above everything else, that the republic should remain in possession of the field of battle.

In the succeeding number of his newspaper (issued Decadi, 30th Frimaire, second year of the republic, one and indivisible) Desmoulins no longer extenuates the work of the guillotine but pleads for clemency.

[1] As Michelet has pointed out, this is rather a satire upon than a justification of the Reign of Terror.

[2] See above, pp. 280 *sqq.*

138. Camille Desmoulins makes a plea for clemency (December 20, 1793)

Some persons have expressed their disapproval of my third issue, where, as they allege, I have been pleased to suggest certain comparisons which tend to cast an unfavorable light on the Revolution and the patriots, — they should say the excess of revolution and the professional patriots. My critics think the whole number refuted and everybody justified by the single reflection, "We all know that the present situation is not one of freedom, — but patience ! you will be free one of these days."

Such people think apparently that liberty, like infancy, must of necessity pass through a stage of wailing and tears before it reaches maturity. On the contrary, it is of the nature of liberty that, in order to enjoy it, we need only desire it. A people is free the moment that it wishes to be so, — you will recollect that this was one of Lafayette's sayings, — and the people has entered upon its full rights since the 14th of July. Liberty has neither infancy nor old age, but is always in the prime of strength and vigor. . . .

Is this liberty that we desire a mere empty name? Is it only an opera actress carried about with a red cap on, or even that statue, forty-six feet high, which David proposes to make? If by liberty you do not understand, as I do, great principles, but only a bit of stone, there never was idolatry more stupid and expensive than ours. Oh, my dear fellow-citizens, have we sunk so low as to prostrate ourselves before such divinities? No, heaven-born liberty is no nymph of the opera, nor a red liberty cap, nor a dirty shirt and rags. Liberty is happiness, reason, equality, justice, the Declaration of Rights, your sublime constitution.

Would you have me recognize this liberty, have me fall at her feet, and shed all my blood for her? Then open the prison doors to the two hundred thousand citizens whom you call suspects, for in the Declaration of Rights no prisons for suspicion are provided for, only places of detention. Suspicion has no prison, but only the public accuser ; there are no suspects, but only those accused of offenses established by law.

Do not think that such a measure would be fatal to the republic. It would, on the contrary, be the most revolutionary that you have adopted. You would exterminate all your

enemies by the guillotine! But was there ever greater madness? Can you possibly destroy one enemy on the scaffold without making ten others among his family and friends? Do you believe that those whom you have imprisoned — these women and old men, these self-indulgent valetudinarians, these stragglers of the Revolution — are really dangerous? Only those among your enemies have remained among you who are cowardly or sick. The strong and courageous have emigrated. They have perished at Lyons or in the Vendée. The remnant which still lingers does not deserve your anger. . . .

Moreover it has not been love of the republic, but curiosity, which has every day attracted multitudes to the Place de la Révolution; it was the new drama which was to be enacted but once. I am sure that the majority of those who frequented this spectacle felt a deep contempt in their hearts for those who subscribed for the theater or opera, where they could only see pasteboard daggers and comedians who merely pretended to die. According to Tacitus, a similar insensibility prevailed in Rome, a similar feeling of security and indifference to all issues. . . .

I am of a very different opinion from those who claim that it is necessary to leave Terror on the order of the day. I am confident, on the contrary, that liberty will be assured and Europe conquered so soon as you have a Committee of Clemency. This committee will complete the Revolution, for clemency is itself a Revolutionary measure, the most efficient of all when it is wisely dealt out.[1]

[1] In spite of Desmoulins's eloquent and wise plea for clemency, his friend Robespierre refused to support him, and he was brought to the scaffold, along with Danton, by the party which held that moderation was synonymous with treason to the cause of republican liberty.

CHAPTER XIV

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Section 39. Bonaparte's First Italian Campaign

When nine years old Napoleon Bonaparte and his brother Joseph accompanied their father to France, where the boys were to go to school and learn French. One of their teachers in Autun thus writes of them:

139. How Napoleon and his brother Joseph learned French

Napoleon brought with him to Autun a somber and pensive character. He never played with any one and ordinarily walked by himself. . . . He had much ability; understood and learned readily. When I was teaching him his lesson he would fix his eyes upon me with his mouth open. If I tried to recapitulate what I had just said, he would not listen to me. If I blamed him for this, he would reply with a cold, not to say imperious, air, "I know that, sir."

I only had him under me for three months. . . . He had by that time learned French so as to make use of it freely in conversation, and could write little themes and make little translations. . . . At the end of three months I sent him off with a certain Monsieur de Champeaux to the military school at Brienne.

Joseph's character

Joseph also had much ability: although he took but little interest in study, and knew no French at all when he arrived, he learned it very promptly, as well as the beginnings of Latin. . . . He was as decent and agreeable in his manner as his brother was imperious. His nature was sweet, engaging, and appreciative. He was fond of his companions and protected those whom others annoyed. I never saw in him the least indications of ambition.

Napoleon early developed the ability to judge men and assign them to their appropriate spheres. Before he left Brienne his father visited him, bringing his younger brother Lucien, together with the news that his brother Joseph was planning to give up the clerical career he had chosen and become a soldier. Although not yet fifteen years old, Napoleon writes of the matter to his uncle as follows:

My dear Uncle:

140. Napoleon's early insight into character

I am writing to inform you that my dear father has just passed through Brienne on his way to place Marianne [i.e. Napoleon's sister, Élise] in the convent at St. Cyr, after which he will take measures to regain his health. He arrived here on the 21st instant with Lucien. The latter he left here. He is nine years old and three feet eleven inches and six lines tall. He is in the sixth form so far as his Latin goes, and he is about to take up the various other branches.

He knows French very well, but he has forgotten Italian altogether. I hope that he will now write you more frequently than when he was at Autun. I am convinced that my brother Joseph has not written to you; and how could you expect him to when he only writes a few lines to my dear father, when he writes at all?

As to the career which he proposes to embrace, the ecclesiastical was, as you know, the first that he chose. He persisted in that resolution until now, when he proposes to go into the king's service. He is wrong in this for several reasons.

First, as my dear father observes, he has not the courage necessary to face the dangers of an action, and his feeble health would not permit him to bear the fatigues of a campaign. My brother only looks at military life from the standpoint of a garrison. Yes, my dear brother would be a good garrison officer; he is well made and has that light spirit which adapts him to frivolous compliments. He would always shine in society, but in battle — that is what my father is doubtful about. . . .

Second, he has been educated for the ecclesiastical estate, and it is much too late to give this up. The bishop of Autun would have given him a fine benefice, and he would have been sure to have become bishop. What an advantage for his family! The bishop has done all he could to induce him to persist in his original purpose, promising him that he would not be sorry. However, he has made up his mind. I would praise him if only he had a decided taste for this profession, which is the finest of all professions. If only the great Director of human affairs, in forming him, had given him, as he has me, a decided inclination for military life!

He wants to go into the army; that is well enough, but in what department? The marine? But, in the first place, he knows no mathematics, and it will take him two years to master the subject. In the second place, his health is incompatible with a life on the sea.

Shall it be the engineers' division? He would require four or five years to learn what is necessary, and at the end of that time he would only be a beginner. Moreover I believe that the necessity of working all day is not compatible with the lightness of his character. The same reason which holds for the engineers holds for the artillery. . . . That certainly is not to his taste.

Let us see, then. Doubtless he would like to go into the infantry. Good; I can comprehend that. He would like to have nothing to do all day except to walk about the streets. And what is a little infantry officer anyway — except a hard case three fourths of the time? This is just what my dear father, and you, and my mother, and my uncle the archdeacon would not wish, for he has already shown some little indications of light-headedness and prodigality.

Consequently a last effort will be made to induce him to pursue a clerical career. Otherwise my dear father will carry him back to Corsica with him, so that he may keep an eye on him, and they will try to have him enter the law.

I close with the hope that you will continue to retain me in your good graces: to render myself worthy of them will be my most cherished ambition. I am, with most profound respect,

my dear uncle, your very humble and very obedient servant and nephew,

NAPOLEONE DI BUONAPARTE

P.S. Destroy this letter.

A writer, Las Cases, who accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, gathered the following information from the exiled emperor in regard to the circumstances of his first campaign.

141. Circumstances under which Bonaparte undertook the Italian campaign

During the period of his command at Paris subsequent to the 18th Vendémiaire, Napoleon had to deal with a great dearth of food, which occasioned several popular commotions. One day, when the usual distribution of bread had not taken place, crowds of people collected around the bakers' shops. Napoleon was patrolling the city with a party of his staff to preserve public order. A crowd of persons, chiefly women, assembled around him, loudly calling for bread. The crowd grew, the outcries increased, and the situation of Napoleon and his officers became critical. A woman of monstrously robust appearance was particularly conspicuous by her gestures and exclamations. "Those fine epauleted fellows," said she, pointing to the officers, "laugh at our distress; so long as they can eat and grow fat, they do not care if the poor people die of hunger." Napoleon turned to her and said, "My good woman, look at me; which is the fatter, you or I?" Napoleon was at that time extremely thin. "I was merely a slip of parchment," said he. A general burst of laughter disarmed the fury of the populace, and the staff officers continued their round.

Napoleon's memoirs of the campaign in Italy show how he became acquainted with Madame de Beauharnais, and how he contracted the marriage which has been so greatly misrepresented in the accounts of the time. As soon as he got himself introduced to Madame de Beauharnais he spent almost every evening at her house, which was frequented by the most agreeable company in Paris. When the majority of the party retired, there usually remained Monsieur de Montesquiou, the father of the grand chamberlain, the duke of Nivernais, so celebrated

for the graces of his wit, and a few others. They used to look around to see that the doors were all shut, and then they would say, "Now let us sit down and chat about the old court; let us revisit Versailles once more." Bonaparte falls in love with the former aristocracy

The poverty of the treasury and the scarcity of specie were so great during the republic that on the departure of General Bonaparte to join the army of Italy all his efforts, and those of the Directory, only resulted in raising two thousand louis, which he carried with him in his carriage. With this sum he set out to conquer Italy, and to advance toward the empire of the world. The following is a curious fact. An order of the day was issued, signed by Berthier, directing the general in chief, on his arrival at the headquarters at Nice, to distribute to the different generals the sum of four louis in specie to enable them to enter on the campaign. For a considerable time no such thing as specie had been seen. This order of the day displays the circumstances of the time more truly and faithfully than whole volumes written on the subject.

As soon as Napoleon joined the army he proved himself to be a man born to command. From that moment he filled the theater of the world; he occupied all Europe; he was a meteor blazing in the firmament; he centered all eyes on himself, riveted all thoughts, and formed the subject of all conversation. From that time every gazette, every publication, every monument became the record of his deeds. His name was inscribed on every page and in every line, and echoed from every mouth.

His entrance upon the command produced a revolution in his manners, conduct, and language. Decrès has often told me that he was at Toulon when he first heard of Napoleon's appointment to the command of the army of Italy. He had known him well in Paris and thought himself on terms of perfect intimacy with him. "So," said he, "when we learned that the new general was about to pass through the city, I immediately proposed to introduce my comrades to him, and to turn my former connection with him to the best account. I hastened to meet him full of eagerness and joy. The door of the apartment was thrown open, and I was on the point of rushing toward him with my wonted familiarity; but his Bonaparte alters his friendly manner

attitude, his look, the tone of his voice suddenly deterred me. There was nothing offensive either in his appearance or manner, but the impression he produced was sufficient to prevent me from ever again attempting to encroach upon the distance that separated us."

Bonaparte's freedom from greed

Napoleon's generalship was characterized by the skill, energy, and purity of his military administration; his constant dislike of peculation of any kind, and his total disregard of his own private interest. "I returned from the campaign in Italy," said he, "with but three hundred thousand francs in my possession. I might easily have carried off ten or twelve millions and have kept it for my own. I never made out any accounts, nor was I ever asked for any. I expected, on my return, to receive some great national reward. It was publicly reported that Chambord was to be given to me, and I should have been very glad to have had the chateau; but the idea was set aside by the Directory. I had, however, sent back to France at least fifty millions for the service of the state. This, I imagine, was the first instance in modern history of an army contributing to maintain the country to which it belonged, instead of being a burden to it."

The young and rather inexperienced General Bonaparte had to lead his ill-equipped troops against the combined armies of Austria and the king of Sardinia. His success was, nevertheless, immediate; and after the opening victories in the mountains separating France from Piedmont, he found himself in a position to cheer his troops by the following proclamation:

HEADQUARTERS AT CHERASCO
7th Floréal, Year IV [April 26, 1796]

Soldiers:

You have in a fortnight won six victories, taken twenty-one standards, fifty-five pieces of artillery, several strong places, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have made fifteen thousand prisoners and killed or wounded more than ten thousand men. Previously you had fought for sterile crags,

142. Bonaparte's proclamation to his soldiers on their arrival in Italy

which, although you made them famous by your prowess, were useless to your country; to-day your services put you on a footing with the army of Holland or of the Rhine.

Without any resources you have supplied all that was necessary. You have won battles without cannons, passed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, camped without brandy and often without bread. Only republican phalanxes, soldiers of liberty, would have been able to bear what you have born. Thanks be to you, soldiers, for this. Your grateful country will owe its prosperity to you. As conquerors at Toulon you but foreshadowed the immortal campaign of 1794; even so your present victories are but harbingers of still greater.

The two armies which but recently attacked you with confidence are fleeing in consternation before you. Those misguided men who laughed at your misery and rejoiced in the thought of the triumph of your enemies have been confounded.

But, soldiers, you have done nothing as yet compared with what there still remains to do. Neither Turin nor Milan yet belongs to you. . . . You were destitute of everything at the opening of the campaign; to-day you are provided abundantly. Numerous stores have been taken from your enemies and siege and field guns have arrived.

Soldiers, your country is justified in expecting great things of you. Will you fulfill its hopes? The greatest obstacles undoubtedly have been overcome, but you have still battles to fight, cities to take, rivers to cross. Is there any one among you whose courage is slackening? Is there any one who would prefer to return across the summits of the Apennines and the Alps and bear patiently the insults of a slavish soldiery? No, there is none such among the conquerors of Montenotte, of Dego, of Mondovi. All of you are burning to extend the glory of the French people. All long to humiliate those haughty kings who dare to contemplate placing us in fetters. All desire to dictate a glorious peace and one which will indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices which it has made; all would wish, as they return to their native villages, to be able to say proudly, "I was with the victorious army of Italy!"

Stern prohibition of pillage

Friends, I can promise you this conquest, but there is one condition which you must swear to fulfill. That is to respect the peoples whom you deliver, and repress the horrible pillage which certain rascals, incited by our enemies, commit. Otherwise, you will not be the deliverers of the people but their scourge; you will not do honor to the French people, but will thereby disavow your country. Your victories, your bravery, your success, the blood of our brothers who have died in battle, — all will be lost, even honor and glory. As for me and the generals who have your confidence, we should blush to command an army without discipline and restraint, which recognizes no law but force. . . . Any one who engages in pillage will be shot without mercy.

Peoples of Italy, the French army comes to break your chains; the French people is the friend of all peoples. You may receive them with confidence. Your property, your religion, and your customs will be respected. We are carrying on war as generous enemies, and we have no grudge except against the tyrants who oppress you.

BONAPARTE

Bourrienne, one of Napoleon's early companions and later his secretary, gives us an account in his memoirs of the motives which led General Bonaparte to sign the Treaty of Campo-Formio.

143. How Bonaparte was led to sign the Treaty of Campo-Formio

The early appearance of bad weather hastened Napoleon's determination. On the 13th of October, at daybreak, on opening my window I perceived the mountains covered with snow. The previous night had been superb, and the autumn, till then, had promised to be fine and late. I proceeded, as I always did at seven o'clock in the morning, to the general's chamber. I awoke him and told him what I had seen. He feigned at first to disbelieve me, then leaped from his bed, ran to the window, and, convinced of the sudden change, he calmly said, "What! before the middle of October? What a country! Well, we must make peace." While he hastily put on his clothes I read the journals to him, as is my daily custom. He paid but little attention to them.

Shutting himself up with me in his closet, he reviewed with the greatest care all the returns from the different corps of his army. "Here are," said he, "nearly eighty thousand effective men. I feed, I pay them; but I can bring but sixty thousand into the field on the day of battle. I shall gain it, but afterwards my force will be reduced by twenty thousand men, — by killed, wounded, and prisoners. How, then, shall I oppose all the Austrian forces that will march to the protection of Vienna? It would be a month before the armies could support me, if they should be able to do it at all; and in a fortnight all the roads and passes will be covered deep with snow. It is settled — I will make peace. Venice shall pay for the expense of the war and the boundary of the Rhine; let the Directory and the lawyers say what they like."

He wrote to the Directory in the following words: "The summits of the hills are covered with snow; I cannot, on account of the stipulations agreed to in regard to the recommencement of hostilities, open them again for twenty-five days, and by that time we shall be overwhelmed with snow."

Provisions of the Treaty of Campo-Formio

. . . It is well known that by the Treaty of Campo-Formio the two belligerent powers made peace at the expense of the republic of Venice, which had nothing to do with the quarrel in the first instance, and which only interfered at a late period, probably against her own inclination, and impelled by the force of inevitable circumstances. But what has been the result of this great political spoliation? A portion of the Venetian territory was adjudged to the Cisalpine republic; it is now in the possession of Austria. Another considerable portion, including the capital itself, fell to the lot of Austria, in compensation for the Belgian provinces and Lombardy, which she ceded to France.

Destruction of the Venetian republic

Bonaparte disregards the instructions of the Directory

. . . The Directory was far from being satisfied with the Treaty of Campo-Formio, and with difficulty resisted the temptation not to ratify it. A fortnight before the signature of the treaty the directors wrote to General Bonaparte that they would not consent to give the emperor Venice, Friuli, Padua, and the Venetian *terra firma*, with the Adige as a boundary. "That," they said, "would not be to make peace, but to

postpone the war. We shall be regarded as the beaten party, independently of the disgrace of abandoning Venice, which Bonaparte himself thought so worthy of freedom. France ought not, and never will wish, to see Italy delivered up to Austria." . . . All this was, however, said in vain. Bonaparte made no scruple of disregarding his instructions.

Section 40. How Napoleon made himself Master of France

After the first disasters in Egypt, Bonaparte thus encouraged his troops:

HEADQUARTERS, CAIRO, 1st Vendémiaire, Year VII

Soldiers:

144. Bonaparte's proclamation to his Egyptian army (September 22, 1798)

We are celebrating the first day of the seventh year of the republic. Five years ago the independence of the French people was threatened, but you took Toulon; this was a harbinger of the ruin of our enemies. A year later you defeated the Austrians at Dego; the following year you were on the summit of the Alps. Two years ago you were fighting for Mantua, and you gained the famous victory of St. George. Last year you were at the sources of the Drave and the Isonzo, and had returned from Germany. Who would have said, then, that you would to-day be upon the banks of the Nile in the midst of an ancient continent? The eyes of the world are centered upon you, from those of the English, famed in arts and trade, to the wild and hideous Bedouin.

Soldiers, your destiny is a glorious one, because you are worthy of all that you have accomplished and of the fame which you enjoy. You will die with honor like the brave men whose names are inscribed upon this pyramid,[1] or you will return to your country covered with laurels and a source of wonder to all.

During the five months which we have been absent from Europe we have been the object of constant solicitude on the

[1] A wooden pyramid on which were inscribed the names of the officers and soldiers who had already fallen in Egypt.

part of our compatriots. To-day forty millions of citizens celebrate the advent of representative government; these forty millions are thinking of you, and are saying, "It is to their labors and to their blood that we shall owe a general peace, tranquillity, flourishing commerce, and the advantages of civil liberty."

One of Bonaparte's companions in Egypt reports the following conference between the general and the muftis, or expounders of the Mohammedan laws.

145. Bonaparte informs the Mohammedans that he is their friend

Whilst at Cairo, Bonaparte, on a visit to the pyramids, seated himself on the Soros and held a long conversation with the muftis. "Glory to Allah!" said he; "there is no other God but God. Mohammed is his prophet and I am his friend. Muftis! the divine Koran is the delight of my soul and the object of my contemplation. I love the Prophet, and I hope erelong to see and honor his tomb in the Holy City.

"But my mission is first to exterminate the Mamelukes. If Egypt be their portion, let them show me the lease that God has given them. But the angel of death has breathed upon them: we are come and they have disappeared. The days of regeneration are come. He that hath ears, let him hear. The hour of political resurrection has struck for all who groan under oppression. Muftis, imams, mollahs, dervishes, and kalenders: instruct the people of Egypt; encourage them to join in our labors to complete the destruction of the Beys and the Mamelukes. Favor the commerce of the Franks in your country and their endeavors to arrive at the ancient land of Brahma. Let them have storehouses in your ports, and drive far from you the English, accursed among the children of Jesus! Such is the will of Mohammed. The treasures, industry, and friendship of the Franks shall be your lot till you ascend to the seventh heaven and are seated by the side of the black-eyed houris who are endowed with perpetual youth and maidenhood."

The Mohammedan muftis in return called him an envoy of God, the favorite of Mohammed, the successor of Iskander [i.e. Alexander the Great] most valiant among the children of

Felicitations of the Mohammedan muftis

Jesus. "May the Prophet," said one of them, "cause thee to sit at his left hand on the day of resurrection, after the third sound of the trumpet." "At length," said another, "the dawn of happiness breaks upon us; the time destined by God has arrived; an atmosphere of felicity surrounds us. The resplendent star of victory, which guides the French warriors, has shed upon us its dazzling light; fame and honor go before them; good fortune and honor accompany them. The chief who marches at their head is impetuous and terrible; his name terrifies kings. Princes bow their haughty heads before this invincible Bonaparte." [1]

Madame de Rémusat, whose husband was one of Napoleon's secretaries, gives, in her delightful and important memoirs, a good account of Bonaparte's attitude toward the Egyptian adventure and his return to France. In a conversation with her in 1803 he boasted of his first Italian campaign and told her how he then cast about for new worlds to conquer.

146. Bonaparte's attitude toward his Egyptian adventure

When I returned to France I found public opinion in a lethargic condition. In Paris — and Paris is France — people can never interest themselves in things if they do not care about the persons connected with them. The customs of an old monarchy had taught them to personify everything. This habit of mind is bad for a people who desire liberty seriously; but Frenchmen can no longer desire anything seriously, except perhaps it be equality, and even that they would renounce willingly if every one could flatter himself that he was the first.

To be equals, with everybody uppermost, is the secret of the vanity of all of you; every man among you must, therefore, be given the hope of rising. The great difficulty that the Directory labored under was that no one cared about them, and that people had begun to care a great deal about me.

[1] Similar sentiments are expressed in some of Bonaparte's proclamations printed in his correspondence and in the extract from the memoirs of Madame de Rémusat, given in Number 146.

I do not know what would have happened to me had I not conceived the happy thought of going to Egypt. When I embarked I did not know but that I might be bidding an eternal farewell to France; but I had little doubt that she would recall me. The charm of Oriental conquest drew my thoughts away from Europe more than I should have believed possible. My imagination interfered again this time with my actions; but I think it died out at St. Jean d'Acre. However that may be, I shall never allow it to interfere with me again.

Bonaparte's dream of Oriental conquest

In Egypt I found myself free from the wearisome restraints of civilization. I dreamed all sorts of things, and I saw how all that I dreamed might be realized. I created a religion. I pictured myself on the road to Asia mounted on an elephant, with a turban on my head, and in my hand a new Koran, which I should compose according to my own ideas. I would have the combined experience of two worlds to set about my enterprise; I was to have ransacked, for my own advantage, the whole domain of history; I was to have attacked the English power in India, and renewed my relations with old Europe by my conquest.

Bonaparte's policy on his return from Egypt

The time which I passed in Egypt was the most delightful part of my life, for it was the most ideal. Fate decided against my dreams; I received letters from France; I saw that there was not a moment to lose. I reverted to the realities of life and I returned to Paris — to Paris, where the gravest interests of the country are discussed during the *entr'acte* of the opera.

The Directory trembled at my return. I was very cautious; that is one of the epochs of my life in which I have acted with the soundest judgment. I saw Abbé Sieyès, and promised him that his verbose constitution should be put into effect; I received the chiefs of the Jacobins and the agents of the Bourbons; I listened to advice from everybody, but gave it only in the interest of my own plans. I hid myself from the people, because I knew that when the time came curiosity to see me would make them run after me. Every one was taken in my toils; and when I became head of the state, there was not a party in France which did not build some special hope upon my success.

General Bonaparte thus described for the benefit of the public his *coup d'état:*

19th Brumaire, 11 o'clock P.M.

To the People:

147. Bonaparte's own account of his *coup d'état* of Brumaire

Frenchmen, on my return to France I found division reigning among all the authorities. They agreed only on this single point, that the constitution was half destroyed and was unable to protect liberty.

Each party in turn came to me, confided to me their designs, imparted their secrets, and requested my support. But I refused to be the man of a party.

The Council of Elders appealed to me. I answered their appeal. A plan of general restoration had been concerted by men whom the nation has been accustomed to regard as the defenders of liberty, equality, and property. This plan required calm deliberation, free from all influence and all fear. The Elders therefore resolved upon the removal of the legislative bodies to St. Cloud. They placed at my disposal the force necessary to secure their independence. I was bound, in duty to my fellow-citizens, to the soldiers perishing in our armies, and to the national glory acquired at the cost of so much blood, to accept the command.

The Council assembled at St. Cloud. Republican troops guaranteed their safety from without, but assassins created terror within. Many deputies in the Council of Five Hundred, armed with stilettos and pistols, spread the menace of death around them.

The plans which ought to have been developed were withheld. The majority of the Council was disorganized, the boldest orators were disconcerted, and the futility of submitting any salutary proposition was quite evident.

General Bonaparte favorably received by the Council of the Elders

I proceeded, filled with indignation and chagrin, to the Council of the Elders. I besought them to carry their noble designs into execution. I directed their attention to the evils of the nation, which were their motives for conceiving those designs. They concurred in giving me new proofs of their unanimous good will.

I presented myself before the Council of the Five Hundred alone, unarmed, my head uncovered, just as the Elders had received and applauded me. My object was to restore to the majority the expression of its will and to secure to it its power.

Bonaparte claims that he was murderously assailed in the Council of the Five Hundred

The stilettos which had menaced the deputies were instantly raised against their deliverer. Twenty assassins rushed upon me and aimed at my breast. The grenadiers of the legislative body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, ran forward and placed themselves between me and the assassins. One of these brave grenadiers [Thomé] had his clothes pierced by a stiletto.[1] They bore me out.

At the same moment cries of "Outlaw him!" were raised against the defender of the law. It was the horrid cry of assassins against the power destined to repress them. They crowded around the president [Lucien Bonaparte], uttering threats. With arms in their hands, they commanded him to declare me outlawed. I was informed of this. I ordered him to be rescued from their fury, and six grenadiers of the legislative body brought him out. Immediately afterwards some grenadiers of the legislative body charged the hall and cleared it.

The seditious, thus intimidated, dispersed and fled. The majority, freed from their assailants, returned freely and peaceably into the hall, listened to the propositions for the public safety, deliberated, and drew up the salutary resolution which will become the new and provisional law of the republic.

Frenchmen, you will doubtless recognize in this conduct the zeal of a soldier of liberty, of a citizen devoted to the republic. Conservative, judicial, and liberal ideas resumed their sway upon the dispersion of those seditious persons who had domineered in the councils and who proved themselves the most odious and contemptible of men.

BONAPARTE

[1] Thomé had a small part of his coat torn by a deputy who took him by the collar. This constituted, according to Bourrienne, the whole of the attempted assassination of the 19th Brumaire.

The son of Madame de Rémusat thus recalls how, when a little boy, he caught a glimpse of the First Consul:

148. Bonaparte's manners when First Consul

One day my mother came for me (I think she had accompanied Madame Bonaparte into the court of the Tuileries) and took me up a staircase full of soldiers, at whom I stared hard. One of them who was coming down spoke to her; he wore an infantry uniform. "Who was that?" I asked, when he had passed. It was Louis Bonaparte. Then I saw a young man going upstairs in the well-known uniform of the [corps known as the] guides. His name I did not need to ask. Children in those days knew the insignia of every rank and corps in the army, and who did not know that Eugene Beauharnais was colonel of the guides?

Careless deportment of Bonaparte

At last we reached Madame Bonaparte's drawing-room. At first there was no one there but herself, one or two ladies, and my father, wearing his red coat embroidered in silver. I was probably kissed — or perhaps they thought me grown; then no one noticed me any further. Soon an officer of the consul's guard entered. He was short, thin, and carried himself badly, or at least carelessly. I was sufficiently drilled in etiquette to observe that he moved about a great deal and made rather free. Among other things I was surprised to see him sit on the arm of a chair. From thence he spoke across a considerable distance to my mother. We were in front of him, and I remarked his thin, almost wan face, with its brown and yellowish tints. We drew near to him while he spoke. When I was within his reach he noticed me; he took me by my two ears and pulled them rather roughly. He hurt me, and had I not been in a palace I should have cried. Then, turning to my father, he said, "Is he learning mathematics?" Soon I was taken away. "Who is that soldier?" I asked my mother. "That soldier is the First Consul."

Bonaparte's disregard of others and his insolent attitude toward those who served him are seen in the following incident reported by Madame de Rémusat.

Bonaparte dictated with great ease. He never wrote anything with his own hand. His handwriting was bad and as illegible to himself as to others; and his spelling was very defective. He utterly lacked patience to do anything whatever with his own hands. The extreme activity of his mind and the habitual prompt obedience rendered to him prevented him from practicing any occupation in which the mind must necessarily wait for the action of the body. Those who wrote from his dictation — first Monsieur Bourrienne, then Monsieur Maret, and Méneval, his private secretary — had made a shorthand for themselves in order that their pens might travel as fast as his thoughts.

149. How Bonaparte made others uncomfortable

He dictated while walking to and fro in his cabinet. When he grew angry he would use violent imprecations, which were suppressed in writing and which had, at least, the advantage of giving the writer time to catch up with him. He never repeated anything that he had once said, even if it had not been heard; and this was very hard on the poor secretary, for Bonaparte remembered accurately what he had said and detected every omission.

One day he read a tragedy in manuscript, and it interested him sufficiently to inspire him with a fancy to make some alterations in it. "Take a pen and paper," said he to Monsieur de Rémusat, "and write for me." Hardly giving my husband time to seat himself at a table, he began to dictate so quickly that Monsieur de Rémusat, although accustomed to write with great rapidity, was bathed in perspiration while trying to follow him. Bonaparte perceived his difficulty, and would stop now and then to say, "Come, try to understand me, for I will not repeat what I say."

Bonaparte's conviction that zeal depends upon disquietude

He always derived amusement from causing any one uneasiness and distress. His great general principle, which he applied to everything, both great and small, was that there could be no zeal where there was no disquietude. Fortunately he forgot to ask for the sheet of observations he had dictated. Monsieur de Rémusat and I have often tried to read it since, but we have never been able to make out a word of it.

Bonaparte might freely tease his attendants and secretaries, but, in his early days at least, he took great pains to win the hearts of his soldiers.

150. How Bonaparte won the hearts of his soldiers (From Madame de Rémusat's *Memoirs*)

Bonaparte's reception by the troops was nothing short of rapturous. It was well worth seeing how he talked to the soldiers, — how he questioned them one after the other respecting their campaigns or their wounds, taking particular interest in the men who had accompanied him to Egypt. I have heard Madame Bonaparte say that her husband was in the constant habit of poring over the list of what are called the *cadres* of the army at night before he slept. He would go to sleep repeating the names of the corps, and even those of some of the individuals who composed them; he kept these names in a corner of his memory, and this habit came to his aid when he wanted to recognize a soldier and to give him a cheering word from his general. He spoke to the subalterns in a tone of good fellowship, which delighted them all, as he reminded them of their common feats of arms.

Afterwards, when his armies became so numerous and his battles so deadly, he disdained to exercise this kind of fascination. Besides, death had extinguished so many remembrances that in a few years it became difficult for him to find any great number of the companions of his early exploits; and when he addressed the soldiers before leading them into battle, it was a perpetually renewed posterity to which the preceding and destroyed army had bequeathed its glory. But even this somber style of encouragement availed for a long time with a nation which believed itself to be fulfilling its destiny while sending its sons year after year to die for Bonaparte.

Section 41. The Second Coalition against France

Bourrienne[1] thus sketches the campaign of Marengo:

It cannot be denied that if, from the 18th Brumaire to the epoch when Bonaparte began the campaign, innumerable improvements had been made in the internal affairs of France,

[1] See above, p. 316.

151. The campaign of Marengo as described by Bourrienne

foreign affairs could not be viewed with the same satisfaction. Italy had been lost, and the Austrian camp fires might be seen from the frontiers of Provence. Bonaparte was not ignorant of the difficulties of his position, and it was even on account of these very difficulties that, whatever might be the result of his hazardous enterprise, he wished to have it over as quickly as possible. He cherished no illusions and often said all must be staked to gain all.

Situation of Bonaparte after Brumaire

The army which the First Consul was preparing to attack was numerous, well disciplined, and victorious. His own, with the exception of a very small number of troops, was composed of conscripts; but these conscripts were commanded by officers whose ardor was unparalleled. Bonaparte's fortune was now to depend on the winning or losing of a single battle. A battle lost would have dispelled all the dreams of his imagination, and with them would have vanished all his immense schemes for the future of France. . . .

Crossing of the St. Bernard pass (May, 1800)

The grand idea of the invasion of Italy by way of the St. Bernard pass emanated exclusively from the First Consul. This miraculous achievement justly excited the admiration of the world. The incredible difficulties it presented did not daunt the courage of Bonaparte's troops, and his generals, accustomed as they had been to brave fatigue and danger, regarded without concern the gigantic enterprise of the modern Hannibal.

A convent, or hospice, which has been established on the mountain for the purpose of affording assistance to solitary travelers, sufficiently attests the dangers of these stormy regions. But the St. Bernard was now to be crossed not by solitary travelers but by an army. Cavalry, baggage, timbers, and artillery were now to wend their way along those narrow paths where the goatherd cautiously picks his footsteps. On the one hand, masses of snow suspended above our heads threatened every moment to break in avalanches and sweep us away in their descent; on the other, a false step was death. We all passed, men and horses, one by one along the goat paths. The artillery was dismounted, and the guns, put into hollowed trunks of trees, were drawn by ropes. . . .

(Condensed) We arrived at Milan on the 2d of June. But little resistance was offered to our entrance into the capital of Lombardy. The First Consul passed six days in the city, and the time approached when all was to be lost or won. On the 13th the First Consul slept at Torre di Galifolo. On the morning of the 14th General Desaix was sent toward Novi to observe the road to Genoa, which city had fallen several days before, in spite of the efforts of its illustrious defender, Masséna.

The battle of Marengo

That memorable battle of Marengo, of which the results were incalculable, has been described in various ways. For my part, not having had the honor to bear a sword, I cannot say that I saw any particular movements executed this way or that; but I may mention here what I heard on the evening of the battle concerning the hazards of the day. As to the part which the First Consul took in it, the reader is perhaps sufficiently acquainted with his character to account for it. He did not choose that a result so decisive should be attributed to any other cause than the combinations of his genius; and if I had not known his insatiable thirst for glory, I should have been surprised at the half satisfaction evinced at the cause of the success amidst the joy manifested for the success itself. It must be confessed that in this he is very unlike Jourdan, Hoche, Kléber, and Moreau, who were ever ready to acknowledge the services of those who had fought under their orders.

Bonaparte claims all the glory for himself

Within two hours of the time when the divisions commanded by Desaix left San Giuliano I was joyfully surprised by the triumphant return of the army whose fate, since the morning, had caused me so much anxiety. Never did fortune within so short a time show herself under two such various faces. At two o'clock everything indicated the misery of a defeat with all its fatal consequences; at five, victory was again faithful to the flag of Arcola. Italy was reconquered at a single blow, and the crown of France appeared in the distance [to the victorious general].

The Treaty of Campo-Formio[1] was the fruit of Bonaparte's first campaign in Italy (1796–1797). After the

[1] See above, pp. 316 *sqq.*

temporary reverses suffered by France during Bonaparte's absence in Egypt, his victory over the Austrians at Marengo, and another victory of the French at Hohenlinden in December, 1800, put the First Consul in a position to exact at Lunéville all the concessions which Austria had made at Campo-Formio and somewhat more. The chief provisions of this important treaty are here given. They well illustrate the unscrupulous manner in which Austria and France disposed of the lesser countries and the system of reckless territorial changes which are so conspicuous during the whole Napoleonic period.

152. Chief articles of the Peace of Lunéville (February, 1801)

His Majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and of Bohemia, and the First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, induced by a common desire to put an end to the evils of war, have resolved to proceed to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace and amity. Moreover his said Imperial and Royal Majesty, since he desires no less sincerely to extend the benefits of peace to the German empire, and since the existing conditions do not afford the necessary time to consult the empire, or to permit its representatives to take part in the negotiations, has resolved, in view of the concessions made by the deputation of the empire at the recent Congress of Rastadt, to treat in the name of the German confederation, as has happened before under similar circumstances.

Hence the contracting parties have named the following as their plenipotentiaries:

His Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Sieur Louis, count of Cobenzl, minister of conferences and vice chancellor of the court and of state, etc.

The First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, Citizen Joseph Bonaparte, councilor of state. These having exchanged their credentials, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. Peace, amity, and a good understanding shall hereafter exist forever between his Majesty the emperor, king of

Hungary and Bohemia, acting both in his own name and in that of the German empire, and the French republic; . . .

Austrian Netherlands ceded to France

II. The cession of the former Belgian provinces to the French republic, stipulated in Article III of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, is renewed here in the most solemn manner. His Majesty the emperor and king therefore renounces for himself and his successors, as well on his own part as on that of the German empire, all right and title to the above specified provinces, which shall be held in perpetuity by the French republic in full sovereignty and proprietary right. . . .

Venice and most of its territory ceded to Austria

III. Moreover, in confirmation of Article VI of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, his Majesty the emperor and king shall possess in full sovereignty and proprietary right the countries enumerated below, to wit: Istria, Dalmatia, and the islands of the Adriatic, formerly belonging to Venice, dependent upon them; the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Lagunes, and the territory included between the hereditary states of his Majesty the emperor and king, the Adriatic Sea, and the Adige from the point where it leaves Tyrol to that where it flows into the Adriatic, the channel of the Adige forming the boundary line. . . .

Duke of Modena indemnified in Germany

IV. Article XVIII of the Treaty of Campo-Formio is likewise renewed, inasmuch as his Majesty the emperor and king agrees to cede to the duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the territory which this prince and his heirs possessed in Italy, the Breisgau, which he shall hold upon the same conditions as those upon which he held Modena.

Tuscany given to duke of Parma, who belonged to the Spanish royal family

V. It is further agreed that his Royal Highness the grand duke of Tuscany shall renounce for himself, his successors, or possible claimants, the grand duchy of Tuscany and that part of the island of Elba belonging to it, as well as all rights and titles resulting from the possession of the said states, which shall hereafter be held in full sovereignty and proprietary right by his Royal Highness the infante duke of Parma. The grand duke shall receive a complete and full indemnity in Germany for the loss of his states in Italy. . . .

VI. His Majesty the emperor and king consents not only on his part but upon the part of the German empire that the

French republic shall hereafter possess in full sovereignty and proprietary right the territories and domains lying on the left bank of the Rhine and forming a part of the German empire, so that, in conformity with the concessions granted by the deputation of the empire at the Congress of Rastadt and approved by the emperor, the channel of the Rhine shall hereafter form the boundary between the French republic and the German empire, from that point where the Rhine leaves Helvetian territory to the point where it reaches Batavian territory. In view of this the French republic formally renounces all possessions whatsoever upon the right bank of the Rhine and agrees to restore to their owners the following places: Düsseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Phillipsburg, the fortress of Cassel and other fortifications across from Mayence on the right bank of the stream, and the fortress of Kiel and Alt-Breisach, under the express provision that these places and forts shall continue to exist in the state in which they are left at the time of the evacuation.

Cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France

VII. Since, in consequence of this cession made by the empire to the French republic, various princes and states of the empire find themselves individually dispossessed in part or wholly of their territory, and since the German empire should collectively support the losses resulting from the stipulations of the present treaty, it is agreed between his Majesty the emperor and king, — both on his part and upon the part of the German empire, — and the French republic, that, in accordance with the principles laid down at the Congress of Rastadt, the empire shall be bound to furnish the hereditary princes who have lost possessions upon the left bank of the Rhine an indemnity within the empire according to such arrangements as shall be determined later in accordance with the stipulations here made. . . .

Dispossessed German rulers to be indemnified within the empire

XI. The present treaty of peace . . . is declared to be common to the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics. The contracting parties mutually guarantee the independence of the said republics and the freedom of the inhabitants of the said countries to adopt such form of government as they shall see fit.

New states to be included in the treaty

Cisalpine republic

XII. His Majesty the emperor and king renounces for himself and for his successors in favor of the Cisalpine republic all rights and titles depending upon such rights, which his Majesty might assert over the territories in Italy which he possessed before the war and which, according to the terms of Article VIII of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, now form a part of the Cisalpine republic. . . .

XIX. The present treaty shall be ratified by his Majesty the emperor and king, the empire, and the French republic within a period of thirty days, or sooner, if possible, and it is further understood that the armies of the two powers shall remain in their present positions, both in Germany and Italy, until the said ratifications of the emperor and king, of the empire, and of the French republic shall have been simultaneously exchanged at Lunéville between the respective plenipotentiaries. It is also agreed that within ten days after the exchange of the said ratifications the armies of his imperial and royal majesty shall be withdrawn into his hereditary possessions, which shall be evacuated within the same space of time by the French armies; and within thirty days after the said exchange the French armies shall have completely evacuated the territory of the said empire.

Done and signed at Lunéville, February 9, 1801 (the 20th Pluviôse of the year nine of the French republic).

(Signed) Louis, Count of Cobenzl
Joseph Bonaparte

CHAPTER XV

EUROPE AND NAPOLEON

Section 42. Bonaparte restores Order and Prosperity in France

Madame de Rémusat suggests the following reasons why the French people so readily subjected themselves to the despotism of Napoleon.

153. Why the French people submitted to Bonaparte's rule

I can understand how it was that men worn out by the turmoil of the Revolution, and afraid of that liberty which had long been associated with death, looked for repose under the dominion of an able ruler on whom Fortune was seemingly resolved to smile. I can conceive that they regarded his elevation as a decree of destiny and fondly believed that in the irrevocable they should find peace. I may confidently assert that those persons believed quite sincerely that Bonaparte, whether as Consul or Emperor, would exert his authority to oppose the intrigues of faction and would save us from the perils of anarchy.

None dared to utter the word "republic," so deeply had the Terror stained that name; and the government of the Directory had perished in the contempt with which its chiefs were regarded. The return of the Bourbons could only be brought about by the aid of a revolution; and the slightest disturbance terrified the French people, in whom enthusiasm of every kind seemed dead. Besides, the men in whom they had trusted had one after the other deceived them; and as, this time, they were yielding to force, they were at least certain that they were not deceiving themselves.

The belief, or rather the error, that only despotism could at that epoch maintain order in France was very widespread. It became the mainstay of Bonaparte; and it is due to him to

say that he also believed it. The factions played into his hands by imprudent attempts which he turned to his own advantage. He had some grounds for his belief that he was necessary; France believed it, too; and he even succeeded in persuading foreign sovereigns that he constituted a barrier against republican influences, which, but for him, might spread widely. At the moment when Bonaparte placed the imperial crown upon his head there was not a king in Europe who did not believe that he wore his own crown more securely because of that event. Had the new emperor granted a liberal constitution, the peace of nations and of kings might really have been forever secured.

Five years after Bonaparte had become the head of the French government he sums up the general situation in France in a statement which he laid before the legislative body, December 31, 1804.

154. Napoleon's account of the internal situation of France in 1804. (Much condensed)

The internal situation of France is to-day as calm as it has ever been in the most peaceful periods. There is no agitation to disturb the public tranquillity, no suggestion of those crimes which recall the Revolution. Everywhere useful enterprises are in progress, and the general improvements, both public and private, attest the universal confidence and sense of security. . . .

Reasons for establishing an empire in place of the consulate

A plot conceived by an implacable government was about to replunge France into the abyss of civil war and anarchy. The discovery of this horrible crime stirred all France profoundly, and anxieties that had scarcely been calmed again awoke. Experience has taught that a divided power in the state is impotent and at odds with itself. It was generally felt that if power was delegated for short periods only, it was so uncertain as to discourage any prolonged undertakings or wide-reaching plans. If vested in an individual for life, it would lapse with him, and after him would prove a source of anarchy and discord. It was clearly seen that for a great nation the only salvation lies in hereditary power, which can alone assure a continuous political life which may endure for generations, even for centuries.

The Senate, as was proper, served as the organ through which this general apprehension found expression. The necessity of hereditary power in a state as vast as France had long been perceived by the First Consul. He had endeavored in vain to avoid this conclusion; but the public solicitude and the hopes of our enemies emphasized the importance of his task, and he realized that his death might ruin his whole work. Under such circumstances, and with such a pressure of public opinion, there was no alternative left to the First Consul. He resolved, therefore, to accept for himself, and two of his brothers after him, the burden imposed by the exigencies of the situation.

After prolonged consideration, repeated conferences with the members of the Senate, discussion in the councils, and the suggestions of the most prudent advisers, a series of provisions was drawn up which regulate the succession to the imperial throne. These provisions were decreed by a *senatus consultus* of the 28th Floréal last. The French people, by a free and independent expression, then manifested its desire that the imperial dignity should pass down in a direct line through the legitimate or adopted descendants of Napoleon Bonaparte, or through the legitimate descendants of Joseph Bonaparte, or of Louis Bonaparte.

Coronation of Napoleon by the Pope

From this moment Napoleon was, by the most unquestionable of titles, emperor of the French. No other act was necessary to sanction his right and consecrate his authority. But he wished to restore in France the ancient forms and recall those institutions which divinity itself seems to have inspired. He wished to impress the seal of religion itself upon the opening of his reign. The head of the Church, in order to give the French a striking proof of his paternal affection, consented to officiate at this august ceremony. What deep and enduring impressions did this leave on the mind of Napoleon and in the memory of the nation! What thoughts for future races! What a subject of wonder for all Europe!

In the midst of this pomp, and under the eye of the Eternal, Napoleon pronounced the inviolable oath which assures the integrity of the empire, the security of property, the perpetuity of institutions, the respect for law, and the happiness of the

nation. The oath of Napoleon shall be forever the terror of the enemies of France. If our borders are attacked, it will be repeated at the head of our armies, and our frontiers shall never more fear foreign invasion.

The new codes

The principles safeguarded by the coronation oath are those of our legislation. Hereafter there will be fewer laws to submit to the legislative body. The civil code has fulfilled the expectations of the public; all citizens are acquainted with it; it serves as their guide in their various transactions, and is everywhere lauded as a benefaction. A draft of a criminal code has been completed for two years and has been subjected to the criticism of the courts; at this moment it is being discussed for the last time by the Council of State. The code of procedure and the commercial code are still where they were a year ago, for pressing cares have diverted the emperor's attention elsewhere.

New schools

New schools are being opened, and inspectors have been appointed to see that the instruction does not degenerate into vain and sterile examinations. The *lycées* and the secondary schools are filling with youth eager for instruction. The polytechnic school is peopling our arsenals, ports, and factories with useful citizens. Prizes have been established in various branches of science, letters, and arts, and in the period of ten years fixed by his Majesty for the award of these prizes there can be no doubt that French genius will produce works of distinction.

Manufactures

The emperor's decrees have reëstablished commerce on the left bank of the Rhine. Our manufacturers are improving, although the mercenaries subsidized by the British government vaunt, in their empty declamations, her foreign trade and her precarious resources scattered about the seas and in the Indies, while they describe our shops as deserted and our artisans as dying of hunger. In spite of this, our industries are striking root in our own soil and are driving English commerce far from our shores. Our products now equal theirs and will soon compete with them in all the markets of the world.

Religion has resumed its sway, but exhibits itself only in acts of humanity. Adhering to a wise policy of toleration,

the ministers of different sects who worship the same God do themselves honor by their mutual respect; and their rivalry confines itself to emulation in virtue. Such is our situation at home.

After the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, Napoleon collected an army at Boulogne with the declared purpose of making a descent upon England. After some months of preparation and waiting, the soldiers became very impatient to attempt the undertaking, in spite of the many difficulties which had become apparent.

155. Impatience of the soldiers to invade England in August, 1805. (From Constant's *Memoirs*)

Soldiers and sailors were burning with impatience to embark for England, but the moment so ardently desired was still delayed. Every evening they said to themselves, "To-morrow there will be a good wind, there will also be a fog, and we shall start." They lay down with that hope, but arose each day to find either an unclouded sky or rain.

One evening, however, when a favorable wind was blowing, I heard two sailors conversing together on the wharf and making conjectures as to the future. "The emperor would do well to start to-morrow morning," said one. "He will never have better weather and there will surely be a fog." "Yes," said the other, "only he does not think so. We have now waited more than fifteen days, and the fleet has not budged. However, all the ammunition is on board, and with one blast of the whistle we can put to sea."

The night sentinels came on, and the conversation of the old sea wolves stopped there. But I soon had to acknowledge that their nautical experience had not deceived them. In fact, by three o'clock in the morning a light fog was spread over the sea, which was somewhat stormy; the wind of the evening before began to blow again, and at daylight the fog was so thick as to conceal the fleet from the English, while the most profound silence reigned everywhere. No hostile sails had been signaled through the night, and, as the sailors had predicted, everything favored the descent. At five o'clock in the morning signals were made from the semaphore, and in the

twinkling of an eye all the sailors were in motion and the ports resounded with cries of joy, for the order to depart had just been received.

While the sails were being hoisted the long roll was beaten in the four camps, and the order was given for the entire army to take arms. They marched rapidly into the town, hardly believing what they had just heard. "We are really going to start," said all the soldiers; "we are actually going to say a few words to those Englishmen"; and the joy which animated them burst forth in acclamations which were silenced by a roll of the drums. The embarkation then took place amid profound silence, and in such perfect order that I can scarcely give an idea of it. At seven o'clock two hundred thousand soldiers were on board the fleet; and when, a little after midday, this fine army was on the point of starting, amidst the adieus and good wishes of the whole city, assembled upon the walls and upon the surrounding cliffs, and at the very moment when all the soldiers, standing with uncovered heads, were about to bid farewell to the soil of France, crying, "Vive l'empereur!" a message arrived from the imperial barracks ordering the troops to disembark and return to camp. A telegraphic dispatch just received by his Majesty announced that it was necessary that he should move his troops in another direction; and the soldiers returned sadly to their quarters, some expressing in loud tones and in a very energetic manner the disappointment which this species of mystification caused them. They had always regarded the success of the enterprise against England as assured, and to find themselves stopped on the eve of departure was, in their eyes, the greatest misfortune which could happen to them.

When order had again been restored the emperor repaired to the camp of the right wing and made a proclamation to the troops, which was sent into the other camps, and posted everywhere. This was approximately the tenor of it: "Brave soldiers of the camp of Boulogne, you will not go to England. English gold has seduced the emperor of Austria, who has just declared war against France. His army has just passed the Rhine, which he should have respected, and Bavaria is invaded.

Soldiers, new victories await you beyond the Rhine. Let us hasten to defeat once more the enemies whom you have already conquered." This proclamation called forth unanimous acclamations of joy, and every face brightened, for it mattered little to these intrepid men whether they were led against Austria or England; they simply thirsted for the fray, and now that war had been declared every desire was gratified.

Thus vanished all those grand projects of descent upon England which had been so long matured, so wisely planned.

After breaking camp at Boulogne, Napoleon hurried into Germany. He surrounded and captured the Austrian army at Ulm in October. Six weeks later he defeated the combined forces of the Austrians and Russians in the memorable battle of Austerlitz. After this victory he issued the following proclamation.

156. Napoleon's proclamation to his soldiers after Austerlitz

Soldiers, I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz you have justified what I expected from your intrepidity. You have covered yourselves with eternal glory. An army of one hundred thousand men which was commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria has been, in less than four hours, either cut off or dispersed. Those that escaped your swords have thrown themselves into the lakes. Forty stands of colors, the stands of the Russian imperial guard, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, and above thirty thousand prisoners are the fruits of this ever-memorable battle. Their infantry, so celebrated and so superior to you in numbers, has proved unable to resist your charge, and henceforth you have no rivals to fear.

Thus in less than two months the third coalition is conquered and dissolved. Peace cannot be far off; but, as I promised my people before crossing the Rhine, I will conclude it only upon terms consistent with my pledge, which shall secure not only the indemnification, but the reward, of my allies.

Soldiers, when the French people placed the imperial crown upon my head I trusted to you to enable me to maintain it in that splendor of glory which could alone give it value in my

estimation. But at that moment our enemies entertained the design of tarnishing and degrading it; and the iron crown, which was gained by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would have compelled me to place on the head of my bitterest foe, — an extravagant and foolish proposal, which you have brought to naught on the anniversary of your emperor's coronation. You have taught them that it is easier for them to defy and to threaten than to subdue us.

Soldiers, when everything necessary to the security, the happiness, and the prosperity of our country has been achieved, I will return you my thanks in France. Then will you be the objects of my tenderest care. My people will receive you with rapture and joy. To say to me, "I was in the battle of Austerlitz," will be enough to authorize the reply, "That is a brave man."

NAPOLEON

HEADQUARTERS AT AUSTERLITZ
December 3, 1805

Section 43. Napoleon destroys the Holy Roman Empire and reorganizes Germany

Napoleon's policy in Germany

In no country of Europe were the effects of Napoleon's policy more striking and permanent than in Germany. The cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France by the Treaty of Lunéville (1801) brought with it a complete reconstruction of the remainder of Germany, since the dispossessed princes were to be indemnified with lands within the empire. Accordingly the ecclesiastical states and the free imperial towns, once so important among the German states, were, with a few exceptions, incorporated into the territories of neighboring secular princes by the great Imperial Recess of 1803. The little holdings of the knights were quietly absorbed by the new "sovereigns" within whose territories they happened to lie. The map of Germany was

thus much simplified, and the ancient and hopeless subdivision of Germany greatly diminished.

Napoleon had no desire to unify Germany, but wished to have several independent states, or groups of states, which he could conveniently bring under his control. Consequently, when it came to arranging the Treaty of Pressburg after his great victory at Austerlitz, Napoleon forced the defeated emperor to recognize the rulers of Würtemberg and Bavaria as "kings" and the elector of Baden as enjoying "the plenitude of sovereignty." In short, he proposed that the three most important princes of southern Germany should be as independent as the king of Prussia or the emperor himself, and that, moreover, they should owe their elevation to him. He then formed a union of these new sovereigns and of other German rulers, which was called the Confederation of the Rhine. In the rather insolent message given below he informs the diet of the empire that the new union, of which he is to be the protector, will be incompatible with the continued existence of the venerable Holy Roman Empire.

157. Napoleon informs the German diet of the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine (August 1, 1806)

The undersigned, *chargé d'affaires* of his Majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, at the general diet of the German empire, has received orders from his Majesty to make the following declarations to the diet:

Their Majesties the kings of Bavaria and of Würtemberg, the sovereign princes of Ratisbon, Baden, Burg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Nassau, as well as the other leading princes[1] of the south and west of Germany, have resolved to form a confederation between themselves which shall secure them against future contingencies, and have thus ceased to be states of the empire.

[1] The confederation was joined from time to time by many more German states.

The position in which the Treaty of Pressburg has explicitly placed the courts allied to France, and indirectly those princes whose territory they border or surround, being incompatible with the existence of an empire, it becomes a necessity for those rulers to reorganize their relations upon a new system and to remove a contradiction which could not fail to be a permanent source of agitation, disquiet, and danger.

France, on the other hand, is directly interested in the maintenance of peace in southern Germany and yet must apprehend that the moment she shall cause her troops to recross the Rhine discord, the inevitable consequence of contradictory, uncertain, and ill-defined conditions, will again disturb the peace of the people and reopen, possibly, the war on the Continent. Feeling it incumbent upon her to advance the welfare of her allies and to assure them the enjoyment of all the advantages which the Treaty of Pressburg secures to them, and to which she is pledged, France cannot but regard the confederation which they have formed as a natural result and a necessary sequel to that treaty.

Sad decline of the Holy Roman Empire

For a long period successive changes have, from century to century, reduced the German constitution to a shadow of its former self. Time has altered all the relations, in respect to size and importance, which originally existed among the various members of the confederation, both as regards each other and the whole of which they have formed a part.

The diet has no longer a will of its own; the sentences of the superior courts can no longer be executed; everything indicates such serious weakness that the federal bond no longer offers any protection whatever and only constitutes a source of dissension and discord between the powers. The results of three coalitions have increased this weakness to the last degree. . . . The Treaty of Pressburg assures complete sovereignty to their Majesties the kings of Bavaria and of Würtemberg and to his Highness the elector of Baden. This is a prerogative which the other electors will doubtless demand, and which they are justified in demanding; but this is in harmony neither with the letter nor the spirit of the constitution of the empire.

His Majesty the emperor and king is, therefore, compelled to declare that he can no longer acknowledge the existence of

the German constitution, recognizing, however, the entire and absolute sovereignty of each of the princes whose states compose Germany to-day, maintaining with them the same relations as with the other independent powers of Europe.

His Majesty the emperor and king has accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He has done this only with a view to peace and in order that by his constant mediation between the weak and the powerful he may obviate every species of dissension and disorder.

Having thus provided for the dearest interests of his people and of his neighbors, and having assured, so far as in him lay, the future peace of Europe, and that of Germany in particular, heretofore constantly the theater of war, by removing a contradiction which placed people and princes alike under the delusive protection of a system contrary both to their political interests and to their treaties, his Majesty the emperor and king trusts that the nations of Europe will at last close their ears to the insinuations of those who would maintain an eternal war upon the Continent. He trusts that the French armies which have crossed the Rhine have done so for the last time, and that the people of Germany will no longer witness, except in the annals of the past, the horrible pictures of disorder, devastation, and slaughter which war invariably brings with it.

His Majesty declared that he would never extend the limits of France beyond the Rhine and he has been faithful to his promise. At present his sole desire is so to employ the means which Providence has confided to him as to free the seas, restore the liberty of commerce, and thus assure the peace and happiness of the world.

BACHER

RATISBON, August 1, 1806

After the Treaty of Pressburg and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine there was really nothing for the Emperor to do except to lay down — which he did with some relief — the imperial crown which had belonged to his House with few intermissions since the times of Rudolf of Hapsburg.

158. The abdication of the last Roman emperor (August 6, 1806)

We, Francis the Second, by the grace of God Roman emperor elect, ever august, hereditary emperor of Austria, etc., king of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Galicia, Lodomeria, and Jerusalem; archduke of Austria, etc.

Since the Peace of Pressburg all our care and attention have been directed towards the scrupulous fulfillment of all engagements contracted by the said treaty, as well as the preservation of peace, so essential to the happiness of our subjects, and the strengthening in every way of the friendly relations which have been happily reëstablished. We could but await the outcome of events in order to determine whether the important changes in the German Empire resulting from the terms of the peace would allow us to fulfill the weighty duties which, in view of the conditions of our election, devolve upon us as the head of the Empire. But the results of certain articles of the Treaty of Pressburg, which showed themselves immediately after its publication and since that time, as well as the events which, as is generally known, have taken place in the German Empire, have convinced us that it would be impossible under these circumstances further to fulfill the duties which we assumed by the conditions of our election. Even if the prompt readjustment of existing political complications might produce an alteration in the existing conditions, the convention signed at Paris, July 12, and approved later by the contracting parties, providing for the complete separation of several important states of the empire and their union into a separate confederation, would utterly destroy any such hope.

Thus convinced of the utter impossibility of longer fulfilling the duties of our imperial office, we owe it to our principles and to our honor to renounce a crown which could only retain any value in our eyes so long as we were in a position to justify the confidence reposed in us by the electors, princes, estates, and other members of the German Empire, and to fulfill the duties devolving upon us.

We proclaim, accordingly, that we consider the ties which have hitherto united us to the body politic of the German Empire as hereby dissolved; that we regard the office and dignity

of the imperial headship as extinguished by the formation of a separate union of the Rhenish states, and regard ourselves as thereby freed from all our obligations toward the German Empire; herewith laying down the imperial crown which is associated with these obligations, and relinquishing the imperial government which we have hitherto conducted.

We free at the same time the electors, princes, and estates, and all others belonging to the Empire, particularly the members of the supreme imperial courts and other magistrates of the Empire, from the duties constitutionally due to us as the lawful head of the Empire. Conversely, we free all our German provinces and imperial lands from all their obligations of whatever kind toward the German Empire. In uniting these, as emperor of Austria, with the whole body of the Austrian state we shall strive, with the restored and existing peaceful relations with all the powers and neighboring states, to raise them to the height of prosperity and happiness which is our keenest desire and the aim of our constant and sincerest efforts.

Done at our capital and royal residence, Vienna, August 6, 1806, in the fifteenth year of our reign as emperor and hereditary ruler of the Austrian lands.

FRANCIS

Section 44. The Continental Blockade

At least as early as 1796 the French government conceived the idea of forcing its English enemy to cry for peace by ruining her commerce. This became a cherished policy of Napoleon after he had given up the idea of invading England. After his great victory over Prussia at Jena he felt that the time had come to put into execution his project of excluding England from the Continent. England had given him an excuse for the Berlin Decree given below by declaring the coast from the river Elbe to Brest in a state of blockade (May, 1806).

FROM OUR IMPERIAL CAMP AT BERLIN
November 21, 1806

159. The Berlin Decree (November 21, 1806) (Extracts)

Napoleon, emperor of the French and king of Italy, in consideration of the facts:

1. That England does not recognize the system of international law universally observed by all civilized nations.

2. That she regards as an enemy every individual belonging to the enemy's state, and consequently makes prisoners of war not only of the crews of armed ships of war but of the crews of ships of commerce and merchantmen, and even of commercial agents and of merchants traveling on business.

3. That she extends to the vessels and commercial wares, and to the property of individuals, the right of conquest which is applicable only to the possessions of the belligerent power.

4. That she extends to unfortified towns and commercial ports, to harbors and the mouths of rivers, the right of blockade, which, in accordance with reason and the customs of all civilized nations, is applicable only to strong places. . . . That she has declared districts in a state of blockade which all her united forces would be unable to blockade, such as entire coasts and the whole of an empire.

5. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other aim than to prevent communication among the nations and to raise the commerce and the industry of England upon the ruins of that of the Continent. . . .

8. That it is a natural right to employ such arms against an enemy as he himself makes use of, and to combat in the same way as he combats. Since England has disregarded all ideas of justice and every high sentiment implied by civilization among mankind, we have resolved to apply to her the usages which she has ratified in her maritime legislation.

The provisions of the present decree shall continue to be looked upon as embodying the fundamental principles of the empire until England shall recognize that the law of war is one and the same on land and on sea, and that the rights of war cannot be extended so as to include private property of any kind or the persons of individuals unconnected with the profession

of arms, and that the right of blockade shall be restricted to fortified places actually invested by sufficient forces.

We have consequently decreed and do decree that which follows.

ARTICLE I. The British Isles are declared to be in a state of blockade.

II. All commerce and all correspondence with the British Isles is forbidden. Consequently, letters or packages directed to England, or to an Englishman, or written in the English language, shall not pass through the mails and shall be seized.

III. Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever state or condition he may be, who shall be discovered in any country occupied by our troops or by those of our allies, shall be made a prisoner of war.

IV. All warehouses, merchandise, or property of whatever kind belonging to a subject of England shall be regarded as a lawful prize.

V. Trade in English goods is prohibited, and all goods belonging to England or coming from her factories or her colonies are declared a lawful prize. . . .

VII. No vessel coming directly from England or from the English colonies, or which shall have visited these since the publication of the present decree, shall be received in any port.

VIII. Any vessel contravening the above provision by a false declaration shall be seized, and the vessel and cargo shall be confiscated as if it were English property. . . .

X. The present decree shall be communicated by our minister of foreign affairs to the kings of Spain, of Naples, of Holland, and of Etruria, and to our other allies whose subjects, like ours, are the victims of the unjust and barbarous maritime legislation of England.

(Signed) NAPOLEON

On November 11, 1807, after news of the Treaty of Tilsit had reached the English government, it replied by an order in council establishing an undisguised "paper" blockade. This, in spite of some alleged merciful exceptions, was almost a prohibition of neutral trading such

as that carried on by the United States, and President Jefferson ordered the first embargo, December 22, 1807, as a retaliatory measure. Napoleon replied to England's measures by issuing his brief and cogent Milan Decree.

AT OUR ROYAL PALACE AT MILAN, December 17, 1807

160. The Milan Decree (December 17, 1807)

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. In view of the measures adopted by the British government on the 11th of November last, by which vessels belonging to powers which are neutral, or are friendly to, and even allied with, England, are rendered liable to be searched by British cruisers, detained at certain stations in England, and subject to an arbitrary tax of a certain per cent upon their cargo, to be regulated by English legislation:[1]

Considering that by these acts the English government has denationalized the vessels of all the nations of Europe, and that no government may compromise in any degree its independence or its rights by submitting to such demands, — all the rulers of Europe being jointly responsible for the sovereignty and independence of their flags, — and that, if through unpardonable weakness, which would be regarded by posterity as an indelible stain, such tyranny should be admitted and become consecrated by custom, the English would take steps to give it the force of law, as they have already taken advantage of the

[1] The tax imposed by England upon the cargoes of neutral ships, which is referred to in the Milan Decree, is not found in the orders of November 11, as Napoleon implies. The tax was, however, a stern reality, whatever may have been its formal origin. Professor McMaster gives an account of the practical workings of the system, so far as American ships were concerned, which he takes from the Baltimore *Evening Post* of September 2 and 27, 1808. The newspaper estimates that on her outward voyage, let us say to Holland, with four hundred hogsheads of tobacco, an American ship would pay England one and one-half pence per pound on the tobacco and twelve shillings for each ton of the ship. With $100 for the license and sundry other dues, the total amounted to toward $13,000. On the home voyage, with a cargo, let us say, of Holland gin, the American trader paid perhaps $16,500, making the total charges paid to Great Britain for a single voyage $31,000 (*History of the People of the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 308–309).

toleration of the governments to establish the infamous principle that the flag does not cover the goods, and to give the right of blockade an arbitrary extension which threatens the sovereignty of every state:

We have decreed and do decree as follows:

ARTICLE I. Every vessel, of whatever nationality, which shall submit to be searched by an English vessel, or shall consent to a voyage to England, or shall pay any tax whatever to the English government, is *ipso facto* declared denationalized, loses the protection afforded by its flag, and becomes English property.

II. Should these vessels which are thus denationalized through the arbitrary measures of the English government enter our ports or those of our allies, or fall into the hands of our ships of war or of our privateers, they shall be regarded as good and lawful prizes.

III. The British Isles are proclaimed to be in a state of blockade both by land and by sea. Every vessel, of whatever nation or whatever may be its cargo, that sails from the ports of England, or from those of the English colonies, or of countries occupied by English troops, or is destined for England, or for any of the English colonies, or any country occupied by English troops, becomes, by violating the present decree, a lawful prize, and may be captured by our ships of war and adjudged to the captor. . . .

Pasquier, in his *Memoirs*, makes the following admirable criticism of Napoleon's continental system.

161. A contemporary's criticism of Napoleon's continental system

[Napoleon's unwise severity after the battle of Jena] was nothing compared to a measure adopted in the hour of intoxication of victory, and which, by erecting an insurmountable barrier, so to speak, between France and England, condemned each of these two powers to entertain no hopes of peace and rest until its rival was completely destroyed. . . .

Napoleon flattered himself with the idea of having found the means to deal a blow at his most deadly opponent in the matter nearest his heart. Seeing himself master of the greater part of the European coast, or at least enjoying a domination

over the mouths of the principal rivers of Germany, he persuaded himself that it depended on him to close all Europe's markets to England and thus compel her to accept peace from him at his own terms. The conception was no doubt a grand one, and the measure was no more iniquitous than that of England, but the difference lay in the fact that the latter, in her pretensions to a blockade, was not undertaking anything beyond her strength, and did not stand in need of any other nation's coöperation to carry it out.

France, on the contrary, was entering upon an undertaking which could not be put into execution without the voluntary or enforced coöperation of all the European powers. It was therefore sufficient, in order to render it fruitless, — and the future went to prove this, — that a single one of these powers, unable to submit to the privations imposed upon it, should either announce its firm determination not to lend a hand in the matter, or should be content with finding ways of eluding it. . . .

Not only was England in a position to supply the continent with the numerous products of her industry, but she also controlled almost the entirety of all colonial wares and provisions. Hence it would become necessary, in the first place, to have recourse to all possible means calculated to make continental industry supply that which English industry would no longer furnish. In the second place, with regard to colonial products, some of which, such as sugar and coffee, were almost indispensable necessaries of life, and others of which were the actual raw material on which depended the manufactures which it was proposed to create, it was necessary to devise a means for allowing them the right of entry, but in a proportion calculated on the strictest necessity, and, if possible, by means of an exchange favorable to the natural products of the continent.

So it happened that through the most persevering and at times the most ingenious efforts, by the aid of a succession of decrees, and with the help of that strange invention of licenses which were nothing but organized smuggling, continental industry, or rather French industry, backed up with a million bayonets and with an auxiliary force of coast guards, succeeded in meeting a tremendous competition and in deriving large profits.

Section 45. Napoleon at the Zenith of his Power (1808–1812)

Napoleon found no difficulty in discovering divine sanction for his power. A catechism drawn up during the reign of Louis XIV by the distinguished French prelate, Bossuet, was hunted up and certain modifications made to adapt it to the times. The following questions and answers deal with the duties of French citizens towards their ruler.

162. Extracts from the imperial catechism (April, 1806)

Question. What are the duties of Christians toward those who govern them, and what in particular are our duties towards Napoleon I, our emperor?

Answer. Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we in particular owe to Napoleon I, our emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes levied for the preservation and defense of the empire and of his throne. We also owe him fervent prayers for his safety and for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the state.

Question. Why are we subject to all these duties toward our emperor?

Answer. First, because God, who has created empires and distributes them according to his will, has, by loading our emperor with gifts both in peace and in war, established him as our sovereign and made him the agent of his power and his image upon earth. To honor and serve our emperor is therefore to honor and serve God himself. Secondly, because our Lord Jesus Christ himself, both by his teaching and his example, has taught us what we owe to our sovereign. Even at his very birth he obeyed the edict of Cæsar Augustus; he paid the established tax; and while he commanded us to render to God those things which belong to God, he also commanded us to render unto Cæsar those things which are Cæsar's.

Question. Are there not special motives which should attach us more closely to Napoleon I, our emperor?

Answer. Yes, for it is he whom God has raised up in trying times to reëstablish the public worship of the holy religion of our fathers and to be its protector; he has reëstablished and preserved public order by his profound and active wisdom; he defends the state by his mighty arm; he has become the anointed of the Lord by the consecration which he has received from the sovereign pontiff, head of the Church universal.

Question. What must we think of those who are wanting in their duties toward our emperor?

Answer. According to the apostle Paul, they are resisting the order established by God himself, and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation.[1]

The following extracts will illustrate the attitude of Napoleon toward his vast empire, and the way in which he undertook to shape the destinies of all western Europe. Enraged by the refusal of the Spanish nation to accept his brother as their king, he invaded the peninsula with a large army, occupied Madrid, and in December, 1808, he issued the following proclamations.

IMPERIAL CAMP AT MADRID, December 7, 1808

163. Napoleon's proclamation to the Spaniards

Spaniards, you have been seduced by perfidious men. They have involved you in a mad conflict and induced you to rush to arms. Is there one among you who, if he but reflect a moment upon all that has taken place, will not be convinced that you have been the playthings of the inveterate enemy of the continent, who rejoices as she beholds the shedding of Spanish and French blood? What could be the result of your success even in several campaigns? What but a war without end and prolonged uncertainty in regard to your possessions and your very existence? In a few months you have been subjected to all the horrors of popular faction. The defeat of your armies was the affair of a few marches. I have entered Madrid. The right of war authorizes me to make a terrible example and

[1] Compare Bossuet's views of the kingship (see above, pp. 5 *sqq.*).

to wash out with blood the outrages committed against me and my nation. But my only thought is of clemency. A few men only, the authors of your misery, shall suffer. I will speedily expel from the peninsula that English army which has been dispatched to Spain, not to aid you, but to inspire in you a false confidence and to deceive you.

I informed you in my proclamation of June 2 that I wished to be your regenerator. But you have chosen that I should add to the rights ceded to me by your previous dynasty also the right of conquest. But this has not in any way altered my attitude toward you. Indeed, I must praise all that has been generous in your efforts. I would recognize that your true interests have been obscured and that you have been deceived as to the real condition of affairs.

Spaniards, your destiny is in my hands. Refuse the poison which the English have spread abroad among you; let your king be assured of your love and confidence and you will be more powerful, more happy than you have ever been. I have destroyed everything which stands in the way of your prosperity and greatness. I have broken the fetters which hampered the people. I have given you a liberal constitution, and, in the place of an absolute, I have given you a limited and constitutional, monarchy. It depends upon you whether this constitution shall continue to govern you. But if all my efforts should prove useless, and if you do not respond to my confidence, nothing will remain for me except to treat you as conquered provinces and to place my brother upon another throne. I shall then put the crown of Spain upon my own head and I shall be able to make the wicked respect it, since God has given me the power and the will necessary to surmount all obstacles.

NAPOLEON

The reforms which Napoleon alludes to had been issued three days before upon his arrival in Madrid. They furnish an admirable illustration of the way in which the ideas of the French Revolution followed his armies into the conservative countries of western Europe.

IMPERIAL CAMP AT MADRID, December 4, 1808

164. Decrees abolishing feudal dues in Spain

To date from the publication of the present decree, feudal rights are abolished in Spain.

All personal obligations, all exclusive fishing rights and other rights of similar nature on the coast or on rivers and streams, all feudal monopolies (*banalités*) of ovens, mills, and inns are suppressed. It shall be free to every one who shall conform to the laws to develop his industry without restraint.

165. Decree abolishing the Inquisition

The tribunal of the Inquisition is abolished, as inconsistent with the civil sovereignty and authority.

The property of the Inquisition shall be sequestered and fall to the Spanish state, to serve as security for the bonded debt.

166. Decree abolishing monastic orders

Considering that the members of the various monastic orders have increased to an undue degree, and that, although a certain number of them are useful in assisting the ministers of the altar in the administration of the sacraments, the existence of too great a number interferes with the prosperity of the state, we have decreed and do decree as follows:

The number of convents now in existence in Spain shall be reduced to a third of their present number. This reduction shall be accomplished by uniting the members of several convents of the same order into one.

From the publication of the present decree, no one shall be admitted to the novitiate or permitted to take the monastic vow until the number of the religious of both sexes has been reduced to one third of that now in existence. . . .

All regular ecclesiastics who desire to renounce the monastic life and live as secular ecclesiastics are at liberty to leave their monasteries. . . .

167. Decree abolishing the interior customs lines

In view of the fact that the institution which stands most in the way of the internal prosperity of Spain is that of the customs lines separating the provinces, we have decreed and do decree what follows:

To date from January 1 next, the barriers existing between the provinces shall be suppressed. The customhouses shall be removed to the frontiers and there established.

In May, 1809, Napoleon proclaimed that the papal possessions and the city of Rome were "reunited" to the French empire. He attempts in the following decree to justify his conduct upon historical grounds.

168. Opening of the decree "reuniting" the papal states to the French empire (May 17, 1809)

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, etc., in consideration of the fact that when Charlemagne, emperor of the French and our august predecessor, granted several counties to the bishops of Rome he ceded these only as fiefs and for the good of his realm, and Rome did not, by reason of this cession, cease to form a part of his empire; further, that since this association of spiritual and temporal authority has been, and still is, a source of dissensions, and has but too often led the pontiffs to employ the influence of the former to maintain the pretensions of the latter, and thus the spiritual concerns and heavenly interests, which are unchanging, have been confused with terrestrial affairs, which by their nature alter according to circumstances and the policy of the time; and since all our proposals for reconciling the security of our armies, the tranquillity and the welfare of our people, and the dignity and integrity of our empire, with the temporal pretensions of the popes have failed, we have decreed and do decree what follows:

Article I. The papal states are reunited to the French empire.

II. The city of Rome, so famous by reason of the great memories which cluster about it and as the first seat of Christianity, is proclaimed a free imperial city. . . .

In August, 1810, when Napoleon was arranging to annex Holland and the Hanseatic towns to France, he addressed the Dutch representatives, who had been induced to lay their troubles before him, in the following words:

169. Napoleon's view of his destiny

. . . When Providence elevated me to the first throne in the world it became my duty, while establishing forever the destinies of France, to determine the fate of all those people

who formed a part of the empire, to insure for all the benefits of stability and order, and to put an end everywhere to the woes of anarchy. I have done away with the uncertainty in Italy by placing upon my head the crown of iron. I have suppressed the government which was ruling in Piedmont. I have traced out the constitution of Switzerland in my Act of Mediation, and I have harmonized the local conditions of these countries and their historical traditions with the security and rights of the imperial crown.

I gave you a prince of my own blood to govern you. It was a natural bond, which should have served to unite the interests of your administration and the rights of the empire. My hopes have been disappointed. Under these circumstances I have displayed a degree of moderation and long-suffering which comported but ill with my character and my rights. Finally, I have but just put an end to the painful uncertainty in which you found yourselves, and to the death struggle which had ended by destroying your strength and resources. I have opened the continent to your industry, and the day will come when you shall bear my eagles upon the seas which your ancestors have rendered illustrious. You will then show yourself worthy of them and of me. . . .

Section 46. The Fall of Napoleon

Before crossing the Russian boundary in June, 1812, Napoleon issued the following proclamation to the Grand Army.

170. Napoleon's proclamation at the opening of the Russian campaign (June, 1812)

Soldiers, the second war of Poland has commenced. The first was brought to a close at Friedland and Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France and war with England. She now violates her oaths, she refuses to give any explanation of her strange conduct, except on condition that the eagles of France shall repass the Rhine, leaving, by such a movement, our allies at her mercy. Russia is dragged along by a fate. Her destinies must be accomplished. Shall she then consider us degenerate? Are we no longer to be looked upon

as the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonor or war. The choice does not admit of hesitation. Let us march forward. Let us pass the Niemen. Let us carry war into her territory. The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as was the first; but the peace which we shall conclude will be its own guaranty and will put an end to that proud and haughty influence which Russia has for fifty years exercised in the affairs of Europe.

AT OUR HEADQUARTERS AT WILKOWISZKI
June 22, 1812

Five months later Napoleon was frantically endeavoring to regain Poland. An eyewitness thus describes the crossing of the Beresina, one of the most tragic episodes in all military history.

171. The crossing of the Beresina (From Constant's *Memoirs*)

On the 25th of November there had been thrown across the river temporary bridges made of beams taken from the cabins of the Poles. . . . At a little after five in the afternoon the beams gave way, not being sufficiently strong; and as it was necessary to wait until the next day, the army again abandoned itself to gloomy forebodings. It was evident that they would have to endure the fire of the enemy all the next day. But there was no longer any choice; for it was only at the end of this night of agony and suffering of every description that the first beams were secured in the river. It is hard to comprehend how men could submit to stand, up to their mouths in water filled with ice, rallying all the strength which nature had given them, added to all that the energy of devotion furnished, and drive piles several feet deep into a miry bed, struggling against the most horrible fatigue, pushing back with their hands enormous blocks of ice which threatened to submerge and sink them. . . .

Napoleon overcome with grief and despair

The emperor awaited daylight in a poor hut, and in the morning said to Prince Berthier, "Well, Berthier, how can we get out of this?" He was seated in his room, great tears flowing down his cheeks, which were paler than usual; and the

prince was seated near him. They exchanged few words, and the emperor appeared overcome by his grief. I leave to the imagination what was passing in his soul. . . .

When the artillery and baggage wagons passed, the bridge was so overweighted that it fell in. Instantly a backward movement took place, which crowded together all the multitude of stragglers who were advancing in the rear of the artillery, like a flock being herded. Another bridge had been constructed, as if the sad thought had occurred that the first might give way, but the second was narrow and without a railing; nevertheless it seemed at first a very valuable makeshift in such a calamity. But how disasters follow one upon another! The stragglers rushed to the second bridge in crowds. But the artillery, the baggage wagons, — in a word, all the army supplies, — had been in front on the first bridge when it broke down. . . . Now, since it was urgent that the artillery should pass first, it rushed impetuously toward the only road to safety which remained. No pen can describe the scene of horror which ensued; for it was literally over a road of trampled human bodies that conveyances of all sorts reached the bridge. On this occasion one could see how much brutality and cold-blooded ferocity can be produced in human minds by the instinct of self-preservation. . . . As I have said, the bridge had no railing, and crowds of those who forced their way across fell into the river and were engulfed beneath the ice. Others, in their fall, tried to stop themselves by grasping the planks of the bridge, and remained suspended over the abyss until, their hands crushed by the wheels of the vehicles, they lost their grasp and went to join their comrades as the waves closed over them. Entire caissons with drivers and horses were precipitated into the water. . . .

Officers harnessed themselves to sleds to carry some of their companions who were rendered helpless by their wounds. They wrapped these unfortunates as warmly as possible, cheered them from time to time with a glass of brandy when they could procure it, and lavished upon them the most touching attention. There were many who behaved in this unselfish manner, of whose names we are ignorant; and how few returned to enjoy

in their own country the remembrance of the most heroic deeds of their lives!

On the 29th the emperor quitted the banks of the Beresina and we slept at Kamen, where his Majesty occupied a poor wooden building which the icy air penetrated from all sides through the windows, for nearly all the glass was broken. We closed the openings as well as we could with bundles of hay. A short distance from us, in a large lot, were penned up the wretched Russian prisoners whom the army drove before it. I had much difficulty in comprehending the delusion of victory which our poor soldiers still kept up by dragging after them this wretched luxury of prisoners, who could only be an added burden, as they required constant surveillance. When the conquerors are dying of famine, what becomes of the conquered? These poor Russians, exhausted by marches and hunger, nearly all perished that night. . . .

On the 3d of December we arrived at Malodeczno. During the whole day the emperor appeared thoughtful and anxious. He had frequent confidential conversations with the grand equerry, Monsieur de Coulaincourt, and I expected some extraordinary measure. I was not mistaken in my conjectures. At two leagues from Smorghoni the duke of Vicenza summoned me and told me to go on in front and give orders to have the six best horses harnessed to my carriage, which was the lightest of all, and keep them in constant readiness. I reached Smorghoni before the emperor, who did not arrive until the following night. . . . After supper the emperor ordered Prince Eugene to read the twenty-ninth bulletin and spoke freely of his plans, saying that his departure was essential in order to send help to the army. . . .

The emperor left in the night. By daybreak the army had learned the news, and the impression it made cannot be depicted. Discouragement was at its height, and many soldiers cursed the emperor and reproached him for abandoning them.

This night, the 6th, the cold increased greatly. Its severity may be imagined, as birds were found on the ground frozen stiff. Soldiers seated themselves with their heads in their hands and bodies bent forward in order thus to feel less the emptiness

of their stomachs. . . . Everything had failed us. Long before reaching Wilna, the horses being dead, we received orders to burn our carriages and all their contents.

The German people, divided as they were into a multitude of little states, had borne apathetically Napoleon's dominion for some years. But his insolent conduct after the victory of Jena began to arouse the national feeling which was later to drive him from German soil and lay the foundation of a united fatherland. The judicious Chancellor Pasquier, in his *Memoirs*, thus describes Napoleon's unwarranted treatment of the Prussians.

172. Napoleon's conduct after Jena. (From Pasquier's *Memoirs*)

Prussia, which for about half a century had advanced step by step to the first rank among military powers, was laid low at the first clash of arms. Such of the old generals of Frederick the Great as still survived — the duke of Brunswick, General Möllendorf, and many others — either lost their lives on the battlefield of Jena or, as a result of the rout, the remnants of their former military reputation. Seventeen days sufficed to place the French army in possession of the Prussian capital, and the end of November saw it on the opposite side of the Vistula, after taking Cüstrin, Spandau, Lübeck, and Magdeburg, — the last named reputed to be the most strongly fortified town in the Prussian kingdom, — and occupying all the states belonging to Prussia, with the exception of Silesia and the fortress of Colberg in Pomerania. . . .

France was no doubt proud of all these victories, and she wished to reap the fruits of them, the first of which, in her eyes, was peace, — a glorious, but also a lasting one. Moderation in the hour of triumph could alone insure such a result, and the French character, which is naturally generous, indulged in thoughts of a magnanimous use of victory. So it was that people nourished the illusory idea that the man who had risen so high could not be deficient in the only quality which could make his conquests secure. . . .

But no sooner was Napoleon in Berlin than he not only acted and spoke as an angry conqueror, but affected the speech

and the attitude of a sovereign giving commands to his subjects. Loyalty to the prince who had fled at his approach was treated as an act of rebellion, and, in his indignation against the opposition of a portion of the nobility which still held communication with the unfortunate king, he exclaimed, in the very halls of the palace of the great Frederick, "I will so humble this court nobility that it shall be reduced to begging its bread." In his proclamations and bulletins he constantly coupled threats with insults. Misfortune, which should be sacred, was not even respected in the person of the queen of Prussia. This conduct was far from affording any reassuring preliminaries for the peace so ardently desired.

The disaster of Jena and the humiliation of Tilsit forced Prussia to try to regain strength and prosperity through the radical reform of her whole social organization. The first step was taken in October, 1807, when serfdom and certain ancient restrictions on landholding were abolished. A few paragraphs of this cautious measure are given below. They are in singular contrast to the generous and thoroughgoing, not to say reckless, provisions of the decree abolishing the feudal system in France given above.[1]

173. The Prussian reform edict of October 9, 1807

We, Frederick William, by the grace of God king of Prussia, etc., etc., hereby make known and proclaim that: Since peace has been established we have been occupied before everything else with the care for the depressed condition of our faithful subjects and the speediest revival and greatest possible improvement in this respect. We have considered that, in face of the prevailing want, the means at our disposal would be insufficient to aid each individual, and even if they were sufficient, we could not hope to accomplish our object; and that, moreover, in accordance with the imperative demands of justice and with the principles of a judicious economic policy, it behooves us to remove every obstacle which has hitherto prevented the

[1] See above, pp. 256 *sqq.*

individual from attaining such a state of prosperity as he was capable of reaching. We have further considered that the existing restrictions, both on the possession and enjoyment of landed property and on the personal condition of the agricultural laborer, especially interfere with our benevolent purpose and disable a great force which might be applied to the restoration of agriculture: the former, by their prejudicial influence upon the value of landed property and the credit of the proprietor; the latter, by diminishing the value of labor. We desire, therefore, to reduce both kinds of restrictions so far as the common well-being demands, and we accordingly ordain the following:

1. Every inhabitant of our states is competent, without any limitation on the part of the state, to own or mortgage landed property of every kind. The noble may therefore own not only noble but also non-noble, citizen, and peasant lands of every kind, and the citizen and peasant may possess not only citizen, peasant, and other non-noble, but also noble tracts of land without in any case needing special permission for any acquisition whatever, although henceforth, as before, every change of ownership must be announced to the authorities. All privileges which are possessed by noble over citizen inheritances are entirely abolished. . . .

2. Every noble is henceforth permitted, without any derogation from his station, to engage in citizen occupation, and every citizen or peasant is allowed to pass from the citizen into the peasant class or from the peasant into the citizen class.[1] . . .

10. From the date of this ordinance no new relation of serfdom, whether by birth or marriage, or by assuming the position of a serf, or by contract, can be created.

11. With the publication of the present ordinance the existing relations of serfdom of those serfs, with their wives and children, who possess their peasant holdings by inheritance, or in their own right, or by perpetual leases, or of copyhold, shall cease entirely, together with all mutual rights and duties.

[1] The articles here omitted relate to leases, mortgages, etc., and are technical and obscure.

12. From Martinmas, one thousand eight hundred and ten (1810), all serfdom shall cease throughout our whole realm. From Martinmas, 1810, there shall be only free persons, as is already the case upon the royal domains in all our provinces, — free persons, however, still subject, as a matter of course, to all obligations which bind them, as free persons, by reason of the possession of an estate or by virtue of a special contract.[1]

To this declaration of our supreme will every one whom it may concern, and in particular our provincial authorities and other officials, are exactly and dutifully to conform, and the present ordinance is to be universally made known.

Given authentically, under our own royal signature, at Memel, October 9, 1807.

FREDERICK WILLIAM
Schrötter, Stein, Schrötter II

By the middle of March, 1813, the timid king of Prussia, encouraged by Napoleon's defeat in Russia, finally decided to throw off the French yoke and lead his country into a war of liberation. He explained his reasons to his people in one of the most famous documents (*An mein Volk*) in modern German history.

174. The king of Prussia rouses his people against Napoleon

There is no need of explaining to my loyal subjects, or to any German, the reasons for the war which is about to begin. They lie plainly before the eyes of awakened Europe. We succumbed to the superior force of France. The peace which followed deprived me of my people and, far from bringing us blessings, it inflicted upon us deeper wounds than the war itself, sucking out the very marrow of the country. Our principal

[1] These general provisions abolishing serfdom were so vague as to be misunderstood. The king therefore issued an official explanation later (April 8, 1809; *Gesetz-Sammlung, 1806–1810*, pp. 557 *sqq.*), which serves to enlighten us upon the exact nature of the *personal* dependence of the serf. This consisted, for example, in the right of the lord to demand three years' service from children of his serfs, and to control them in later life in the matter of occupation and marriage. The former serf is permitted by the new law to engage in any industry he may choose and to leave the manor if he wishes without demanding the consent of the lord.

fortresses remained in the hand of the enemy, and agriculture, as well as the highly developed industries of our towns, were crippled. The freedom of trade was hampered and thereby the sources of commerce and prosperity cut off. The country was left a prey to the ravages of destitution.

I hoped, by the punctilious fulfillment of the engagements I had entered into, to lighten the burdens of my people, and even to convince the French emperor that it would be to his own advantage to leave Prussia her independence. But the purest and best of intentions on my part were of no avail against insolence and faithlessness, and it became only too plain that the emperor's treaties would gradually ruin us even more surely than his wars. The moment is come when we can no longer harbor the slightest illusion as to our situation.

Brandenburgers, Prussians, Silesians, Pomeranians, Lithuanians! You know what you have borne for the past seven years; you know the sad fate that awaits you if we do not bring this war to an honorable end. Think of the times gone by, — of the Great Elector, the great Frederick! Remember the blessings for which your forefathers fought under their leadership and which they paid for with their blood, — freedom of conscience, national honor, independence, commerce, industry, learning. Look at the great example of our powerful allies, the Russians; look at the Spaniards, the Portuguese. For such objects as these even weaker peoples have gone forth against mightier enemies and returned in triumph. Witness the heroic Swiss and the people of the Netherlands.

Great sacrifices will be demanded from every class of the people, for our undertaking is a great one, and the number and resources of our enemies far from insignificant. But would you not rather make these sacrifices for the fatherland and for your own rightful king than for a foreign ruler, who, as he has shown by many examples, will use you and your sons and your uttermost farthing for ends which are nothing to you?

Faith in God, perseverance, and the powerful aid of our allies will bring us victory as the reward of our honest efforts. Whatever sacrifices may be required of us as individuals, they will be outweighed by the sacred rights for which we make

them, and for which we must fight to a victorious end unless we are willing to cease to be Prussians or Germans. This is the final, the decisive struggle; upon it depends our independence, our prosperity, our existence. There are no other alternatives but an honorable peace or a heroic end. You would willingly face even the latter for honor's sake, for without honor no Prussian or German could live.

However, we may confidently await the outcome. God and our own firm purpose will bring victory to our cause and with it an assured and glorious peace and the return of happier times.

BRESLAU, March 17, 1813 FREDERICK WILLIAM

Immediately after the great battle of the nations at Leipzig the distinguished Prussian statesman, Stein, writes as follows to his wife:

LEIPZIG, October 21, 1813

175. Stein reports the battle of Leipzig to his wife

At last, my dear one, we may venture to indulge in a feeling of happiness. Napoleon is beaten and put to flight in disorder. They are driving him over to the left bank of the Rhine and the Austro-Bavarian army will catch up with him before he crosses the river. This is the result of the bloody but glorious battle of the 14th, 16th, 18th, and 19th of October.

And so that monstrous structure built up by the maddest and most perverse tyranny and cemented by the blood and tears of so many millions now lies in ruins. From one end of Germany to the other men now dare to say that Napoleon is a scoundrel and an enemy of the human race; that the shameful bonds in which he has held our fatherland are broken, and the humiliation he has heaped upon us is washed out in streams of French blood.

This great event is due to the persistence and noble spirit developed by Emperor Alexander in the important and decisive events of last year, the heroic devotion of his people, and the spirit of justice and moderation which he has shown in all his negotiations with the powers whom he has invited to associate their efforts with his; to the sacrifices and strength

which Prussia has brought to the struggle since she entered it; to the spirit of opposition and hate toward the oppressor which has shown itself on all sides.

The workings of Providence are at least justified by the terrible judgment which has been meted out to the monster whose obstinacy has led him into political and military follies which have hastened his fall and made him an object of contempt among the people. . . .

These results have been won by two bloody, glorious, and tragic campaigns, and through many costly battles. At Lützen, Bautzen, Teltow, Dresden, Katzbach, Kulm, Dennewitz, Bledin, Leipzig, the seed was sown for this harvest which now awaits us, the fruits of which we should enjoy with a devout and thankful recognition of the hand of Providence, and in all moderation.

The allies have vested in me the whole administration of the territory which they have occupied. Repnin has been made governor of Saxony. I leave in a fortnight, as soon as the army has reached Frankfort.

Six months after the battle of Leipzig Napoleon finally renounced, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy (April 11, 1814), and on the same day concluded the Treaty of Fontainebleau with his enemies.

176. Treaty of Fontainebleau, in which Napoleon abdicates (April 11, 1814)

His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, on the one part, and, on the other, their Majesties the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of all the Russias, both in their own names and those of their allies. . . .

1. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors, and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion as well in the French empire as in the kingdom of Italy and in every other country.

2. Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Maria Louisa shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lifetime. The mother, brothers, sisters, nephews,

and nieces of the emperor shall retain, wherever they may be, the titles of princes of his family.

3. The island of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as the place of his residence, shall form during his life a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and proprietorship.

There shall be given to the Emperor Napoleon, besides full proprietorship of the island of Elba, an annual revenue of two million francs. . . .

5. The duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla shall be given in full proprietorship and sovereignty to her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa. They shall pass to her son and to his descendants in the direct line. The prince, her son, shall assume from this moment the title of Prince of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. . . .

Eleven months later Napoleon returned from Elba, but was met by the following declaration of the allies, who were in conference at Vienna.

177. Declaration of the allies after Napoleon's return from Elba (March 13, 1815)

The powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, reassembled in the congress at Vienna, having been informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe to their dignity and the interest of social order the solemn declaration of the sentiments which that event has inspired in them.

In thus violating the convention which established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte has destroyed the only legal title to his existence. By reappearing in France with projects of disorder and destruction, he has cut himself off from the protection of the law, and has shown in the face of all the world that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

Accordingly the powers declare that Napoleon Bonaparte is excluded from civil and social relations, and as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world he has incurred public vengeance.

At the same time, being firmly resolved to preserve intact the Treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814, and the arrangements

sanctioned by that treaty, as well as those which have been or shall be arranged hereafter in order to complete and consolidate it, they declare that they will employ all their resources and unite all their efforts in order that the general peace, the object of the desires of Europe and the constant aim of their labors, may not be again disturbed, and in order to secure themselves from all attempts which may threaten to plunge the world once more into the disorders and misfortunes of revolutions.

And although fully persuaded that all France, rallying around its legitimate sovereign, will strive unceasingly to bring to naught this last attempt of a criminal and impotent madman, all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same feeling and guided by the same principles, declare that if, contrary to all expectation, there shall result from that event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the king of France and the French nation, or to any government which shall be attacked, as soon as shall be required, all the assistance necessary to reëstablish the public tranquillity, and to make common cause against all who may attempt to compromise it.

The present declaration, inserted in the protocol of the congress assembled at Vienna, March 13, 1815, shall be made public.

The allies completely carried out the programme announced in the declaration above. In less than two months after the battle of Waterloo, the ship bearing Napoleon to St. Helena was well on its way. One of the few companions who were permitted to accompany him, the Comte de Las Cases, kept an interesting journal of his experiences, especially of his conversations with Napoleon (see above, p. 312). He makes the following entries in his diary.

August 10. This day we cleared the Channel. We had now entered upon the dreary unknown course to which fate had doomed us. Again my agonies were renewed; again the dear

connections I had abandoned resumed their sway over my heart. . . . Meanwhile we advanced in our course and were soon to be out of Europe. Thus, in less than six weeks, had the emperor abdicated his throne and placed himself in the hands of the English, who were now hurrying him to a barren rock in the midst of a vast ocean. This is certainly no ordinary instance of the chances of fortune, and no common trial of firmness of mind. . . .

178. Napoleon's exile to St. Helena (From Las Cases's diary)

As to the reproach of suffering himself to be transported to St. Helena, it would be a disgrace to answer such a charge. To contend with an adversary in the cabin of a ship, to kill some one with his own hand, or attempt to set fire to the powder magazine would have been at best the act of a buccaneer. Dignity in misfortune, submission to necessity have also their glory, and it is that which becomes great men overwhelmed by adversity. . . .

August 11–14. Our course was shaped to cross the Bay of Biscay and to double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair though light, and the heat excessive. Nothing could be more monotonous than the time we now passed. . . . It is well known that Napoleon was wont to be scarcely more than fifteen minutes at his dinner. Here the two courses alone occupied from an hour to an hour and a half. This was to him a most serious annoyance, though he never mentioned it; his features, gestures, and manner always evinced perfect indifference. Neither the new system of cookery, the difference, or the quality of the dishes ever met with his censure or approbation. . . .

I need scarcely observe that the English are accustomed to remain a long time at table after the dessert, drinking and conversing. The emperor, already wearied by the tedious dinner, could never have endured this custom; he rose, therefore, from the first day, immediately after coffee had been handed around, and went out on deck, followed by the grand marshal and myself. This disconcerted the admiral, who took occasion to express his surprise to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal language was English, warmly replied, "Do not forget, Admiral, that your guest is a man who has governed

a large portion of the world, and that kings once contended for the honor of being admitted to his table." "Very true," rejoined the admiral; and this officer, who possessed good sense, a becoming pliability of manners, and sometimes much elegance, did his utmost from that moment to accommodate the emperor in his habits. He shortened the time of sitting at the table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and those who accompanied him even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. . . .

October 23–24. The Emperor Napoleon, who but lately possessed such boundless power and disposed of so many crowns, now occupies a wretched hovel, a few feet square, which is perched upon a rock, unprovided with furniture, and without either shutters or curtains to the windows. This place must serve him for bedchamber, dressing room, dining room, study, and sitting room; and he is obliged to go out when it is necessary to have this one apartment cleaned. His meals, consisting of a few wretched dishes, are brought to him from a distance, as though he were a criminal in a dungeon. He is absolutely in want of the necessaries of life: the bread and wine are not only not such as he has been accustomed to, but are so bad that we loathe to touch them; water, coffee, butter, oil, and other articles are either not to be procured or are scarcely fit for use. . . .

We were all assembled around the emperor, and he was recapitulating these facts with warmth: "For what infamous treatment are we reserved!" he exclaimed. "This is the anguish of death! To injustice and violence they now add insult and protracted torment. If I were so hateful to them, why did they not get rid of me? A few musket balls in my heart or my head would have done the business, and there would at least have been some energy in the crime. Were it not for you, and above all for your wives, I would receive nothing from them but the pay of a private soldier. How can the monarchs of Europe permit the sacred character of sovereignty to be violated in my person? Do they not see that they are, with their own hands, working their own destruction at St. Helena? I entered their capitals victorious and, had I cherished such

sentiments, what would have become of them? They styled me their brother, and I had become so by the choice of the people, the sanction of victory, the character of religion, and the alliance of their policy and their blood. Do they imagine that the good sense of nations is blind to their conduct? And what do they expect from it? At all events, make your complaints, gentlemen; let indignant Europe hear them. Complaints from me would be beneath my dignity and character; I must either command or be silent."

CHAPTER XVI

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Section 47. The Congress of Vienna and its Work

France at first viewed as a black sheep at the Congress of Vienna

When the long and bloody struggle of the European powers against Napoleon was finally brought to a successful issue in the spring of 1814, France, who was looked upon as the chief promoter of discord during the previous twenty years, was naturally viewed as the black sheep by the allies. But Louis XVIII was represented at the Congress of Vienna by a well-tried diplomat, Talleyrand, who skillfully took advantage of the divergent interests of the allies and soon restored France to her natural position of importance in the concert of the powers. Nevertheless, when Talleyrand left Paris for Vienna the outlook was gloomy enough. He said to Pasquier on the eve of his departure:

179. Talleyrand's discouragement upon starting for the Congress of Vienna (From Pasquier's *Memoirs*)

I am probably going to play a very sorry part. In the first place, what kind of a welcome shall I receive? Shall I ever get a hearing? Following upon the convention of the 30th of May, the allied sovereigns made the king of France bind himself not to interfere in the partition they should see fit to make of the territories wrested from Bonaparte. If it is their intention that that engagement shall be strictly adhered to, I shall be present there only as what is altogether wrongly styled *ad honores*. I may occasionally open my lips for form's sake, but no heed will be paid to the words issuing from them. On the other hand, I shall be blamed at home for everything that does

not turn out as one would have wished. I do not enjoy the confidence of these people; for the past five months they have taken no pains to conceal this fact from me. Under such circumstances the best thing for a man to do, were it only possible, would be to stay at home.

But Talleyrand had underrated his wonderful diplomatic skill, and had failed to reckon with the assistance which he would receive from the conflicting interests and dissensions among the allies. Early in January he was able to write the following complacent letter to Louis XVIII.

VIENNA, January 4, 1815

Sire:

180. Talleyrand writes to Louis XVIII describing his successful diplomacy at Vienna

I have received the letter of the 23d of last month with which your Majesty deigned to honor me. On the 21st of the present month, the anniversary of a day of horror and eternal mourning,[1] a solemn expiatory service will be celebrated in one of the principal churches of Vienna. . . . Everything in this sad ceremony must be proportioned to the grandeur of its object, the splendor of the crown of France, and the quality of those who are to be present. All the members of the congress will be invited, and I am sure that they will come. . . .

Treaty of Ghent (December 24, 1814)

The news of the signature of peace between England and the United States of America was announced to me on New Year's day by a note from Lord Castlereagh. I hastened to offer him my congratulations, and I also congratulated myself on the event, feeling that it may influence both the disposition of the minister and the resolution of those with whose pretensions we have had to contend hitherto. Lord Castlereagh showed me the treaty. It does not touch the honor of either of the two parties concerned and consequently it will satisfy both.

This happy intelligence was only the precursor of a still more fortunate event. The spirit of the coalition, and the coalition itself, had survived the Peace of Paris. My correspondence up

[1] The anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI.

Hostility of the allies toward France

to the present time has supplied your Majesty with repeated proofs of this. If the plans which, on arriving here, I found had been formed, had been carried into execution, France might have stood alone in Europe without being in good relations with any one single power for half a century to come. All my efforts were directed to the prevention of so great a misfortune, but my most ardent hopes did not reach the height of a complete success.

Talleyrand forms an alliance between France, England, Austria, and lesser powers

But now, sire, the coalition is dissolved, and forever. Not only does France no longer stand alone in Europe, but your Majesty is already in an alliance such as it seemed that fifty years of negotiation could not have procured for her. France is now in concert with two of the greatest powers and three states of the second order, and will soon be in concert with all the states which are guided by other than revolutionary principles and maxims. Your Majesty will be, in reality, the head and soul of that union, formed for the defense of the principles which your Majesty has been the first to proclaim.

So great and happy a change is only to be attributed to that special favor of Providence which was so clearly indicated by the restoration of your Majesty to the throne. Under God, the efficient causes of this change have been :

My letters to Monsieur de Metternich and Lord Castlereagh and the impressions which they have produced ;

The suggestions which I gave Lord Castlereagh relative to a union with France, and of which I gave your Majesty an account in my last letter ;

The pains I have taken to lull his distrust by exhibiting perfect disinterestedness in the name of France ;

The peace with America, which, by releasing him from difficulty on that side, has left him more liberty of action and given him greater courage ;

Lastly, the pretensions of Russia and Prussia, as set forth in the Russian project of which I have the honor to subjoin a copy ; and especially the manner in which those pretensions were advanced and argued in a conference between their plenipotentiaries and those of Austria. The arrogant tone of that insolent and nonsensical document so deeply offended Lord

Castlereagh that, departing from his habitual calmness, he declared that the Russians were claiming to lay down the law and that England was not disposed to accept that from anybody.

In a brief paper, Frederick von Gentz, the Austrian statesman and secretary to the Congress of Vienna, summed up his opinion of the principal participants in the congress and described the maneuvers of the diplomats for points of vantage.

181. The rivalry of the European rulers at the Congress of Vienna

The emperor of Russia has come to Vienna, in the first place to be admired (which is always the principal thing in his thoughts), and next to direct personally the important arrangements which should fix the boundaries and the future position of the many states which claim their share of the immense spoil which is placed at the disposal of the allies by their success against the common enemy. The three principal objects of the Emperor Alexander were: first, to take possession forever of the whole, or almost the whole, of the duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of some small portions, which he would give to the two neighboring powers; second, to prevent Austria from profiting too much by the advantages of her new position; third, to enrich Prussia as much as possible, not only to compensate her for her ancient Polish provinces, which he had carried away from her by surprise, and which he retained because it pleased him to do so, but also to make her a useful and powerful ally, the only one on whom he could rely in the future. Such were the *real* objects he had in view; the *ostensible* object was to mingle in all the affairs of the European nations, and to pass as the arbiter of their destinies.

Alexander's grievance against Metternich

On arriving at Vienna the emperor was already more or less embroiled with Austria, England, and France. His displeasure with Austria was chiefly on account of the many and deep grievances which he had, or pretended to have, against Prince Metternich. The first and true origin of these grievances dated from the opposition of that minister to the emperor's proposal to become himself the commander in chief of the allied armies. His resentment, which was restrained during the first period

of the war, and even hidden under an appearance of great friendliness, broke out for the first time in the month of December, 1813, on the occasion of the allies entering Switzerland, — a plan which all good generals had approved, but which the emperor opposed, because, in one of his philanthropic moods, he had given his word to some Vaudois apostles of liberty that the neutrality of Switzerland should be respected. Since that moment there has been no return of harmony. Angry and bitter discussions took place almost every day during the last part of the campaign, and by the time the allies reached Paris they preserved, with difficulty, the outward appearance of a friendliness which had no longer any foundation. The emperor accustomed himself to look on M. de Metternich only as a permanent obstacle to his designs, as a man occupied without intermission in opposing and thwarting him; at last, as a sworn enemy. . . .

Alexander's attitude toward England and France

His relations with England (a power which he had always cordially detested, and which he only cultivated either from interest or fear) have been sensibly disturbed since his visit to London. Lord Castlereagh was particularly disagreeable to him; he called him cold and pedantic, and there were moments in Vienna when he would have treated him as he did M. de Metternich, if extreme fear of openly compromising himself with the British government (the only one before whom he trembled) had not forced him to dissimulate. Neither was the emperor inclined to friendly relations with France. He had not pardoned the king for having adopted a system of government contrary to the advice which he had wished to give him; he was furious against Prince Talleyrand, who, at the time of the allies entering Paris, had appeared to recognize no law but the will of the Russian emperor, and who, four weeks afterwards, had found the means of rendering himself independent. In the first months of his stay in Vienna there were some violent scenes between the emperor and M. de Talleyrand; subsequently Talleyrand understood how to impress the emperor by his cleverness, his repartees, and his *savoir faire;* but the secret aversion remained the same. . . .

Prussia only brought to the congress an immoderate desire for extending her possessions at the expense of the whole

world, and without regard to any principle of justice or even of decency. This passion for conquest had its origin neither in the character of the king nor of his prime minister; for the king, although below mediocrity in intellect and judgment, is yet at bottom a good sort of man, and Chancellor Hardenberg one of the best that ever existed. But the system of this court does not depend after all either on the king or Prince Hardenberg. This system, founded and pursued for the last century, has found fresh support in the general enthusiasm of the nation, in the energy of the army, and in the irresistible power which a certain number of distinguished military men exercise at present on the cabinet. Since the moment of Prussia's resurrection, the principal object of this party has been the total acquisition of Saxony.

Russian designs on Saxony

Being neither able nor willing to compete with Russia, they transferred all their designs to Germany; the acquisition of Saxony, however enormous it was, was for them but the beginning of a grand series of political operations, by which they hoped sooner or later to unite to Prussia the largest part of the north of Germany, to efface the influence of Austria, and to put themselves at the head of the whole German Confederation. Reckoning on the help of Russia in the execution of this vast scheme, they wished at least to carry away from the congress the foundation stone of their new edifice; and if Austria has not been able entirely to thwart them, she still deserves some merit, in having at least prevented a considerable part of their schemes.

Prussian aspiration for leadership in Germany

England appeared at Vienna with all the brilliancy which she owes to her immense successes, to the prominent part which she had played in the coalition, to her unlimited influence, to a condition of strength and solid prosperity which no other power has attained in these days, and lastly to the respect and fear which she inspires and which govern her relations with all the other governments. In profiting by these advantages England could have given the law to all Europe; by making common cause with Austria, whose interests were also hers, she might have prevented the aggrandisement of Russia, made Prussia fall back within her own boundaries, reëstablished a

Failure of England to control the situation

true equilibrium in Germany, and guaranteed for a long time the repose of Europe. England renounced this noble privilege, for reasons which I prefer to explain on another occasion, and which touch on the most delicate ground in this history. It is true, Lord Castlereagh for some time resisted the ambitious schemes of Russia, but he ended by abandoning this opposition. Guided by the purest intentions, but with some radically false views, he first supported Prussia's designs on Saxony to their utmost extent, returned later to a course more in conformity with just principles, and more favorable to Austria, but, stopping halfway, he finally only saved a part of Saxony by a thoroughly bad arrangement. He observed in all the other questions (with the exception of those directly concerning England, such as the establishment of the House of Orange, the slave treaty, etc.) a neutrality often astonishing. But though capable of being the arbiter of Europe, he gave her only weak and partial support. This was, without doubt, the principal cause of the unsatisfactory issue of the congress.

French ministers on the defensive

The part of the French ministers at this congress was decidedly the most simple and agreeable of all. Everything relating to France having been regulated by the Treaty of Paris, they had nothing to demand for themselves, and could confine themselves to watching the conduct of others. Defending the feeble against the strong restrains each power within its proper limits, and compels it to work in good faith for the reëstablishment of political equilibrium. To do them justice, their general course has been in accordance with these principles, for they have made no proposal, started no scheme tending directly or indirectly to the least change in the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, to the slightest extension of their frontiers, or to any pretension whatever, incompatible with the rights of their neighbors or general tranquillity. In spite of all the laws which are current in society, of all the schemes, measures, and intrigues which inveterate hatred against France has falsely and even absurdly attributed to her ministers, a faithful history cannot refuse them this honorable testimony; and I, who have been a close observer of everything, and am better able to

write this portion of history than any one else, I am the first to give them this testimony.

But if M. Talleyrand and his colleagues have never worked *against* the general good, it is also true that some special obstacles have prevented their coöperating in it, in any efficacious manner. In the first place, the secret article of the Treaty of Paris, which authorized the formerly allied powers to arrange the division of the countries conquered by France, "according to arrangements agreed on between themselves," was a terrible barrier to all their measures; and if the powers who, like Austria, only demanded order and justice, or, like England, were willing to give up the power which this article allowed them, Russia and Prussia, who were solely guided by ambition and desire of acquisition, would never have suffered it. This, and the often exaggerated fear of the other powers, of appearing to conspire with France, will explain to you in a great measure the nullity of the French plenipotentiaries in all the negotiations, and above all during the beginning of the congress. Another cause contributed very much to this. To hold a firm and imposing attitude against cabinets such as the Russian and Prussian, who considered their wills as almost irresistible, France must be prepared and perfectly decided for war. She pretended to be so, but was not in reality; and, when once the secret of her policy was suspected, her arguments could no longer encourage her friends, or her menaces terrify her enemies. The present French government longs only for peace; believing it indispensable for reorganizing the government, the finances, the commerce, and all the resources of France, it looks on peace as the only means of solid security, whilst a fresh war would bring alarming chances of danger and revolution. . . .

Isolated position of Austria

Austria found herself, between these four powers, in the most embarrassing position. She could only look on the Emperor Alexander, in spite of all his protestations of friendship for the emperor, as a declared enemy, and on Prussia, always carried away by her own rapacity and ambition, as the inseparable ally of this enemy. She was deterred from too great a friendship with France, not by any reason of direct repugnance

or distrust, for she was perfectly convinced of her loyal and friendly disposition, but by what is called respect of mankind, that is to say, by the fear of lowering herself in public opinion, by leaguing herself openly with a power which had formerly been the common enemy of Europe, and which still preserved its bad reputation in the minds of the multitude, led away by the hypocritical declarations of the Russian and Prussian party.

Austria, France, and England

Another consideration also stopped Austria. Perfectly agreed with France in her views on the affairs of Poland and Germany, she was not so in regard to those of Italy. France had a natural interest in regaining her old influence in Italy, by the reëstablishment of the deposed branches of the Bourbon family at Parma, and principally at Naples, whilst Austria wished first to consolidate her own power, then to preserve Parma, which a recent and formal convention had secured to the Empress Maria Louisa, and also to support the king of Naples, whose cause she had embraced from the wisest and most powerful motives of political interest.

The cabinet of Vienna had therefore to fear that, by allying itself too closely with France, whose support was essentially useful in its contests with Prussia and Russia, it might have to sacrifice to this power a part of its great interests in Italy. This is why, during the three months of the congress, Austria has always remained somewhat separated from France, and it is only since the beginning of this year that a real intimacy has been established between the ministers of these two great powers.

There remained then only England as any support to Austria; but England wished for peace, peace before everything, peace — I am sorry to say it — at any price and almost on any conditions. Thus Austria was absolutely in the position of having to rely on herself alone, against Russia and Prussia united; she had but one ally, who would follow her at the first call, Bavaria; if war broke out, she could rely on the help of France, but this help would be tardy and constrained, and would turn the opinion of all the rest of Germany still more against her. As to England, decided not to quarrel with any one, she would not even give a subsidy to Austria.

The chief provisions of the act drawn up by the Congress of Vienna are as follows :

182. Chief provisions of the Act of Vienna

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

The Powers who signed the Treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814, having assembled at Vienna, in pursuance of Article XXXII of that Act, with the Princes and States their Allies, to complete the provisions of the said Treaty, and to add to them the arrangements rendered necessary by the state in which Europe was left at the termination of the last war; being now desirous to embrace, in one common transaction, the various results of their negotiations for the purpose of confirming them by their reciprocal ratifications, have authorized their plenipotentiaries to unite, in a general instrument, the regulations of superior and permanent interest, and to join to that Act, as integral parts of the arrangements of the Congress, the Treaties, Conventions, Declarations, Regulations, and other particular Acts, as cited in the present Treaty. . . .

The duchy of Warsaw

Art. I. The Duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the provinces and districts which are otherwise disposed of by the following Articles, is united to the Russian Empire. It shall be irrevocably attached to it by its Constitution, and be possessed by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his heirs and successors in perpetuity. His Imperial Majesty reserves to himself to give to this State, enjoying a distinct administration, the interior improvement which he shall judge proper. He shall assume with his other titles that of Tsar, King of Poland, agreeably to the form established for the titles attached to his other possessions.

The Poles, who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shall obtain a Representation and National Institutions, regulated according to the degree of political consideration, that each of the Governments to which they belong shall judge expedient and proper to grant them. . . .

Gains of Prussia in Saxony

Art. XV. His Majesty the King of Saxony renounces in perpetuity for himself, and all his descendants and successors, in favor of his Majesty the King of Prussia, all his right and title

to the provinces, districts, and territories, or parts of territories, of the Kingdom of Saxony, hereafter named; and his Majesty the King of Prussia shall possess those countries in complete Sovereignty and property, and shall unite them to his Monarchy. The districts and territories thus ceded shall be separated from the rest of the Kingdom of Saxony by a line, which henceforth shall form the frontier between the Prussian and Saxon territories, so that all that is comprised in the limit formed by this line shall be restored to his Majesty the King of Saxony; but his Majesty renounces all those districts and territories that are situated beyond that line, and which belonged to him before the war. . . .

The kingdom of Hanover

Art. XXVI. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having substituted to his ancient title of Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, that of King of Hanover, and this title having been acknowledged by all the Powers of Europe, and by the Princes and Free Towns of Germany, the countries which have till now composed the Electorate of Brunswick-Luneburg, according as their limits have been recognized and fixed for the future, by the following Articles, shall henceforth form the Kingdom of Hanover. . . .

The German Confederation

Art. LIII. The Sovereign Princes and Free Towns of Germany, under which denomination, for the present purpose, are comprehended their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Prussia, of Denmark, and of the Netherlands; that is to say:

The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, for all their possessions which anciently belonged to the German empire;

The King of Denmark, for the Duchy of Holstein;

And the King of the Netherlands, for the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg; establish among themselves a perpetual Confederation, which shall be called "The Germanic Confederation." . . .

The kingdom of the Netherlands

Art. LXV. The ancient United Provinces of the Netherlands and the late Belgic Provinces, both within the limits fixed by the following Article, shall form — together with the countries and territories designated in the same Article, under the Sovereignty of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange-Nassau, Sovereign Prince of the United Provinces — the

Kingdom of the Netherlands, hereditary in the order of succession already established by the Act of the Constitution of the said United Provinces. The title and the prerogatives of the royal dignity are recognized by all the Powers in the House of Orange-Nassau. . . .

Genoa

Art. LXXXVI. The States which constituted the former republic of Genoa are united in perpetuity to those of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, to be, like the latter, possessed by him in full Sovereignty and hereditary property; and to descend, in the male line, in the order of primogeniture, to the two branches of his house, viz.: the royal branch and the branch of Savoy-Carignan. . . .

Lombardo-Venetia

Art. XCIII. In pursuance of the renunciations agreed upon by the Treaty of Paris of the 30th May, 1814, the Powers who sign the present Treaty recognize his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, his heirs and successors, as legitimate Sovereign of the provinces and territories which had been ceded, either wholly or in part, by the Treaties of Campo-Formio of 1797, of Luneville of 1801, of Pressburg of 1805, by the additional Convention of Fontainebleau of 1807, and by the Treaty of Vienna of 1809; the possession of which provinces and territories his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty obtained in consequence of the last war; such as Istria, Austrian as well as heretofore Venetian, Dalmatia, the ancient Venetian Isles of the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the City of Venice, with its waters, as well as all the other provinces and districts of the former Venetian States of the Terra Firma upon the left bank of the Adige, the Duchies of Milan and Mantua, the Principalities of Brixen and Trente, the County of Tyrol, the Vorarlberg, the Austrian Friuli, the ancient Venetian Friuli, the territory of Montefalcone, the Government and Town of Trieste, Carniola, Upper Carinthia, Croatia on the right of the Save, Fiume and the Hungarian *Littorale*, and the District of Castua.

Art. XCIV. His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty shall unite to his Monarchy, to be possessed by him and his successors in full property and Sovereignty:

1. Besides the portions of the Terra Firma in the Venetian States mentioned in the preceding Article, the other parts of

those States, as well as all other territories situated between the Tessino, the Po, and the Adriatic Sea.

2. The Vallies of the Valteline, of Bormio, and of Chiavenna.

3. The territories which formerly composed the Republic of Ragusa. . . .

Section 48. The Holy Alliance: Metternich becomes the Chief Opponent of Revolution

The Holy Alliance is a brief document which is given below in full.

183. The Holy Alliance

In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity.

Their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, having, in consequence of the great events which have marked the course of the three last years in Europe, and especially of the blessings which it has pleased Divine Providence to shower down upon those States which place their confidence and their hope on it alone, acquired the intimate conviction of the necessity of settling the rules to be observed by the Powers, in their reciprocal relations, upon the sublime truths which the Holy Religion of our Saviour teaches:

Rulers to be guided by religious precepts

They solemnly declare that the present Act has no other object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States and in their political relations with every other Government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity, and Peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying their imperfections. In consequence, their Majesties have agreed on the following Articles:

Fraternal Union

ART. I. Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and, considering each other

as fellow-countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them, in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect Religion, Peace, and Justice.

The three princes delegates of Providence to govern three branches of one family

ART. II. In consequence, the sole principle of force, whether between the said Governments or between their Subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable good will the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation; the three allied Princes, looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian world, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other Sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom, that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their Majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that Peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind.

ART. III. All the Powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present Act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that these truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardor and affection into this Holy Alliance.

Done in triplicate and signed at Paris, the year of Grace 1815, $\frac{14}{26}$th September.

(L. S.) FRANCIS
(L. S.) FREDERICK WILLIAM
(L. S.) ALEXANDER

Metternich, who was the leading spirit in the union among the powers to preserve the settlement at Vienna and tranquillity of Europe, laid down certain precepts for the guidance of conservative statesmen.

184. Views of Metternich in regard to the proper policy of the European governments

The world desires to be governed by facts and according to justice, not by phrases and theories; the first need of society is to be maintained by strong authority (no authority without real strength deserves the name) and not to govern itself. In comparing the number of contests between parties in mixed governments, and that of just complaints caused by aberrations of power in a Christian State, the comparison would not be in favor of the new doctrines. The first and greatest concern for the immense majority of every nation is the stability of the laws and their uninterrupted action—never their change. Therefore let the governments govern, let them maintain the foundations of their institutions, both ancient and modern; for if it is at all times dangerous to touch them, it certainly would not now, in the general confusion, be wise to do so.

Reformers should never be encouraged even by indifference

Let the governments announce this determination to their people, and demonstrate it by facts. Let them reduce the doctrinaires to silence within their States, and show their contempt for them abroad. Let them not encourage by their attitude or actions the suspicion of being favorable or indifferent to error; let them not allow it to be believed that experience has lost all its rights to make way for experiments which at the least are dangerous. Let them be precise and clear in all their words, and not seek by concessions to gain over those parties who aim at the destruction of all power but their own, whom concessions will never gain over, but only further embolden in their pretensions to power.

Precepts for conservative governments

Let them in these troublous times be more than usually cautious in attempting real ameliorations, not imperatively claimed by the needs of the moment, to the end that good itself may not turn against them, — which is the case whenever a government measure seems to be inspired by fear.

Let them not confound concessions made to parties with the good they ought to do for their people, in modifying, according

to their recognized needs, such branches of the administration as require it.

Let them give minute attention to the financial state of their kingdoms, so that their people may enjoy, by the reduction of public burdens, the real, not imaginary, benefits of a state of peace.

Let them be just, but strong; beneficent, but strict.

Let them maintain religious principles in all their purity, and not allow the faith to be attacked and morality interpreted according to the social contract or the visions of foolish sectarians.

Let them suppress secret societies, that gangrene of society.

In short, let the great monarchs strengthen their union, and prove to the world that while it exists, it is beneficent, and insures the political peace of Europe; that it is powerful only for the maintenance of tranquillity at a time when so many attacks are directed against it; that the principles which they profess are paternal and protective, menacing only the disturbers of public tranquillity.

Union for the preservation of tranquillity

The governments of the second order will see in such a union the anchor of their salvation, and they will be anxious to connect themselves with it. The people will take confidence and courage, and the most profound and salutary peace which the history of any time can show will have been effected. This peace will first act on countries still in a good state, but will not be without a very decided influence on the fate of those threatened with destruction, and will even assist the restoration of those which have already passed under the scourge of revolution.

To every great State determined to survive the storm there still remain many chances of salvation, and a strong union between the States on the principles we have announced will overcome the storm itself.

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CHAPTERS I–III

Louis XIV and the War of the Spanish Succession

General treatments in English

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Dyer and Hassall, *Modern Europe*, Vol. IV. Rather antiquated but still useful.

Airy, *The English Restoration and Louis XIV to 1689*, and Hale, *The Fall of the Stuarts and Western Europe*, are two little volumes in the Epochs of Modern History Series.

For the history of France during the period: Kitchin, *History of France*, Vol. III; Grant, *The French Monarchy*, 1483–1789; Perkins, *France under the Regency* (opening chapters), and, by the same writer, *Richelieu and Mazarin;* Hassall, *Louis XIV and the Zenith of the French Monarchy* (Heroes of the Nations Series).

These may be supplemented by the following sources, available in English:

Saint-Simon, *Memoirs*, 4 vols. A much-abridged translation of the voluminous original (see below).

Life and Letters of Charlotte Elizabeth, Mother of Philippe d'Orleans, London, 1889. A selection from the many letters which a German princess, who married Louis XIV's brother, dispatched to her friends (see below).

Comtesse de Puliga, *Madame de Sévigné, her Correspondents and Contemporaries*, 2 vols., London, 1873. Gives some idea of this charming letter writer (see below).

Claude, Jean, *The Cruel Persecutions of the Protestants in the Kingdom of France*, Boston, 1893. The author, who published his book immediately after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was a leading Huguenot and the pastor of the great Protestant church at Charenton, near Paris.

Materials for advanced study for reign of Louis XIV

Histoire générale, edited by Lavisse and Rambaud, Vol. VI, Chapters I, III–VIII. Contains excellent bibliographies.

Histoire de France, edited by Lavisse; Vol. VII, Parts I and II, by Lavisse (Louis XIV, 1643–1685). Vol. VIII, Part I, by Rébelliau and Sagnac (the closing years of Louis's reign), is announced for early publication.

The early part of Louis's reign has been elaborately treated by CHÉRUEL, *Histoire de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV*, and *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin*, 7 vols., 1879–1883.

CORRÉARD, *Choix de textes pour servir à l'étude des institutions de la France*. A great part of this excellent and inexpensive little schoolbook is devoted to the reign of Louis XIV.

VAST, *Grands Traités du règne de Louis XIV*, 1893. Very convenient.

ISAMBERT, *Recueil général des anciennes lois*, Vols. XVIII–XX. Contains the more important legislation.

SPANHEIM, EZÉCHIEL (envoy of the elector of Brandenburg at the court of Louis, 1680–1689), *Relation de la cour de France en 1690* (Société de l'histoire de France).

Memoirs and letters

Of memoirs there are many for this period. The chief collections are *Nouvelle Collection de mémoires*, edited by MICHAUD and POUJOULAT, 34 vols., 1854; and *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, edited by CIMBER and DANJOU, 27 vols., 1874–1880. The following writers of memoirs deserve special mention:

Saint-Simon

SAINT-SIMON (1675–1755), *Mémoires*. Saint-Simon is perhaps the most celebrated of memoir writers. He began to make notes very early, probably in 1691, but did not commence to write out his memoirs in their final form until 1740, when he was sixty-five years old. The events he narrates belong to the period 1692–1723, and he made much use of the *Journal* of Dangeau, mentioned below. Saint-Simon's admirable style has led his readers to overlook his inaccuracy and partiality, for he was a good hater. There is an excellent edition of the Memoirs edited by CHÉRUEL, 2d ed., 1873–1877 (22 vols.), cheaper edition in thirteen vols. About half of a new edition in thirty vols., edited by BOISLISLE, has appeared in *Les Grands Écrivains de la France*.

Letters of the duchess of Orleans

The *Letters* of the duchess of Orleans, sister-in-law of Louis and mother of the regent Philippe of Orleans, form an interesting source. Important for the latter half of Louis's reign. Madame's sharp eyes saw many things, and she wrote very freely and constantly to her friends and relatives. There are a number of French translations of collections of her letters, the most complete of which is that edited by Jaeglé, Paris, 3 vols., 1890. RANKE, *Französische Geschichte*, Vol. VI, gives a number in the original German.

DANGEAU (1638–1720), *Journal*, 19 vols., 1854–1860. This covers the period 1684–1720, and was written day by day by a well-informed and conscientious writer, a member of Louis's court. Saint-Simon availed himself generously of Dangeau's facts, often adding embellishments which served to make his version less accurate.

MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ (1626–1696), *Lettres*. The charming letters of this charming lady are very numerous and relate mainly to the years 1670–1696. The most complete of many editions is that edited for *Les Grands Écrivains de la France* by MONMERQUÉ, 14 vols., 1862–1868, including elaborate indices. Several volumes of selections have been published.

The French government under Louis XIV

For the governmental system and the work of Colbert, see especially CLEMENT, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, 7 vols.; DEPPING, *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV*, 4 vols.; BOISLISLE, *Correspondance des contrôleurs généraux*, 2 vols. To these collections of materials should be added the following works of first-rate importance: HANOTAUX, *Origine de l'institution des intendants*, 1884; CLAMAGERAN, *Histoire de l'impôt en France*, 3 vols., 1867–1868; LEVASSEUR, *Histoire des classes ouvrières*, 2d ed.; *Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France depuis les traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la révolution française*, 16 vols., 1884 *sqq*. This collection is edited by various hands and contains the text of the more important documents and analyses of other sources for the foreign policy of France.

The Huguenots

For the Huguenots: BENOÎT (d. 1728), *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes*, 5 vols., Delft, 1693–1695. A celebrated work completed not long after the revocation of the edict. *Recueil des édits, declarations et arrêts concernans la religion prétendue reformée*, new edition, 1885. The brothers HAAG have given a very complete history of French Protestantism in their *France protestante*, 2d ed., 10 vols., 1877–1895. The Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français has, since 1853, published a vast amount of important material in its *Bulletin*, of which some sixty volumes have appeared.

Literature

Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française, edited by PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, Vol. V, furnishes an introduction to the literature of the period.

Internal history of England

For England at this time the most famous work is, of course, MACAULAY, *History of England*, published in many editions. It closes with the death of William III; it is a splendid apology for the Revolution. It may be helpfully supplemented by the dryer work of HALLAM, *Constitutional History of England*, also issued in many editions. The reign of Anne is fully treated in BURTON, *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, 3 vols., 1880. A shorter but more interesting account is PAUL, *Life of Queen Anne*, 1906.

Sources for the history of England

There is, of course, an enormous mass of material available on all of the English aspects of the period; for valuable classified lists, consult the bibliographies appended to Vol. V of *The Cambridge Modern History*. The *Works of Sir William Temple*, 4 vols., 1755, will be found especially useful for English and foreign affairs during the latter part of the seventeenth century, for the author was extremely well versed in continental diplomatic affairs. BURNET (1643–1715), *History of My Own Time*, edited by AIRY, 2 vols., with a supplementary volume, 1897, is especially valuable for its character sketches, and, in spite of its warm Whig sympathies, is an honest piece of work.

COBBETT, *Parliamentary History*, 1808–1809, contains, in addition to a record of the transactions in Parliament, a large number of important state papers and documents. Indispensable for any advanced work in political history.

There are two great collections of tracts and pamphlets belonging in part to this period: *Harleian Miscellany*, edited by PARK, 10 vols., 1808–1813; and *Somers Tracts*, edited by SCOTT, 13 vols., 1809–1815.

The lives and works of the leading statesmen, diplomats, and political writers like Danby, Algernon Sidney, Shrewsbury, the duke of Buckinghamshire, Hobbes, Locke, Defoe, Steele, and Addison are described in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, now appearing in a new edition, somewhat less expensive than the first.

War of the Spanish Succession

For the War of the Spanish Succession, consult STANHOPE, *History of the War of Succession in Spain*, 1832, a dry but valuable account; GERARD, *The Peace of Utrecht*, 1885, which is really a history of the war; and the lives of Marlborough, by COXE (in three volumes, 1818–1819), and by ALISON, 2d ed., 1852. On the English interests involved, SEELEY, *Growth of British Policy*, 2 vols., 1895, is very suggestive. For the maritime operations see CORBETT, *England in the Mediterranean, 1660–1713*, 1904; and MAHAN, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*, 1889.

The leading authority on the War of the Spanish Succession is LÉGRELLE, *La Diplomatie française et la succession d'Espagne*, 4 vols., Paris, 1888–1892.

For the early phases of the diplomatic negotiations, MIGNET, *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV*, 4 vols., Paris, 1835–1842.

For the documents relative to the settlement at Utrecht, DUMONT, *Corps universel diplomatique*. There is an exhaustive collection of papers: *Actes, Memoires, et autres Pièces authentiques concernant la paix d'Utrecht*, 6 vols., Utrecht, 1714–1715.

The papers, works, and memoirs of Torcy, Villars, Catinat, Tallard, Marlborough, Villeroy, Bolingbroke, Dean Swift, and other writers and men of action are enumerated in the bibliographies of *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. V.

CHAPTERS IV–V

The Political History of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht to the French Revolution

General treatments in English

Hassall, *European History, 1715–1789*, is the best brief history of the period. General accounts from the English standpoint are to be found in Stanhope, *History of England from 1713 to 1783*, 7 vols., 5th ed., 1858; and in Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 7 vols., cabinet edition. On the French side of the European struggle: Kitchin, *History of France*, Vol. III; Perkins, *France under the Regency*, and, *France under Louis XV* (2 vols). Vol. VI of *The Cambridge Modern History* doubtless will be the most useful work in English when it appears.

Prussia

Chaps. xx and xxi in Vol. V of *The Cambridge Modern History* are excellent for the rise of Prussia. Tuttle, *History of Prussia*, 4 vols., will be found valuable for the Great Elector and the early years of Frederick the Great. The most famous work in English on Frederick the Great is Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, published in numerous editions; it contains many extracts from Frederick's letters and other sources. Brief accounts of Frederick's period: Longman, *Frederick the Great;* and (more recent) Reddaway, *Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia*, 1904 (Heroes of the Nations Series).

Russia

Chaps. xvi and xvii of Vol. V of *The Cambridge Modern History* are good introductory surveys of the rise of Russia and the reign of Peter the Great. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, Vols. I and II, is the best general account. Schuyler, *Peter the Great*, 1884, is the standard life of the Tsar in English. Waliszewski, *Life of Peter the Great*, translated from the French, is excellent and recent.

Turkey

Lane-Poole, Stanley, *Turkey* (Story of the Nations). By a well-known authority. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, is based on the great German work of Von Hammer which is in ten volumes.

Austria

There is no satisfactory extended treatment of Austria in English. The old work, Coxe, *House of Austria*, is still useful, though somewhat antiquated. The political aspects of the life of Maria Theresa are

briefly reviewed in BRIGHT, *Maria Theresa*, 1897, a little volume in the Foreign Statesmen Series.

Materials for advanced study

The bibliographies appended to the volumes of *The Cambridge Modern History* and the *Histoire générale* are invaluable guides; also the great German bibliography, DAHLMANN-WAITZ, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, 7th ed., 1905–1907.

BRÜCKNER, *Peter der Grosse*, 1879 (Oncken Series).

DROYSEN, *Geschichte der preussischen Politik*, 14 vols., ending with the year 1756. The most elaborate history of Prussia, by an excellent historian.

ERDMANSDÖRFER, *Deutsche Geschichte vom Westphälischen Frieden bis zum Regierungsantritt Friedrichs des Grossen*, 2 vols., 1892–1893 (Oncken Series). Well illustrated.

VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitraum der Gründung des preussischen Königthums*, 2 vols., 1890–1894.

BERNER, *Geschichte des preussischen Staats*, 1891. Elaborately illustrated.

WADDINGTON, *L'Acquisition de la couronne royale de Prusse par les Hohenzollern*, 1888.

FORSTER, F., *Friedrich Wilhelm der Erste*, 3 vols., 1834–1835. An excellent old life of Frederick's father, with much illustrative material.

Frederick the Great

There are naturally a good many books about Frederick the Great. The chief sources for his reign are his own works, especially his letters: *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, 30 vols., Berlin, 2d ed., 1846–1857; *Politische Korrespondenz Friedrichs des Grossen*, 25 vols., 1879 *sqq.*, edited by KOSER and other scholars. Reinhold Koser is perhaps the greatest living authority on Frederick. Besides many articles, he has published *Friedrich der Grosse als Kronprinz*, 1886, and an account of his reign in *König Friedrich der Grosse*, 2 vols., 4to, 2d ed., 1901–1903. LAVISSE has dealt with the earlier years of Frederick: *La Jeunesse du Grand Frédéric*, 1891, and *Le Grand Frédéric avant l'avénement*. See, also, PAUL-DUBOIS, *Frédéric le Grand d'après sa correspondance politique*.

The Seven Years' War

There are two careful histories of the Seven Years' War: SCHAEFER, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg*, 3 vols., 1867–1874; and WADDINGTON, *La Guerre de Sept Ans*, 1899 *sqq.* Four volumes of this French work have appeared, completing the year 1761. To these may be added KRONES, *Handbuch der Geschichte Oesterreichs*, Vols. III–IV; ARNETH, *Geschichte Maria Theresas*, 10 vols., 1863–1879, the standard biography; and several monographs by the DUC DE BROGLIE, *Frédéric II et Maria Theresa*, 1883, etc. CORBETT, *England in the Seven Years' War*, 1908, lays special emphasis on the maritime aspects of the conflict. A German view of

Pitt and the war is to be found in the monumental work (translated into English) by RUVILLE, *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, 3 vols., 1907.

CHAPTERS VI–VII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

European colonization in general

PAYNE, E. J., *History of European Colonies;* also, by the same author, *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, chaps. i–ii; CHEYNEY, *The European Background of American History* (American Nation Series), 1904; MORRIS, *History of Colonization*, 2 vols., 1900. A useful account of colonization from the earliest times (the second volume deals largely with English colonization; good bibliographies). MAHAN, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*, 1889.

Materials for advanced study

ZIMMERMANN, *Die europäische Kolonien*, 5 vols., 1896–1903: Vol. I on Spain and Portugal; Vols. II–III, Great Britain; Vol. IV, France; Vol. V, The Netherlands. LEROY-BEAULIEU, *La Colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, new ed., 1906. The best general work in French. DE LANNOY and VANDER LINDEN, *Histoire de l'expansion des peuples européens: Portugal et Espagne*, 1907, brings the account of these two colonizing nations down to the opening of the nineteenth century, laying stress on administrative policies and social conditions.

Expansion of England

WOODWARD, *A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire*, 2d ed., 1902. SEELEY, *Expansion of England*, 1883 (a brilliant series of lectures); and, by the same writer, *The Growth of British Policy*, 2 vols., 1905; not a consecutive narrative but general consideration of the intimate relations of European history with the struggle for world commerce and empire. EDGERTON, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*, 1897. Best work for review of British policy. LUCAS, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, 6 vols., 1888–1907. The introductory volume (revised ed., 1906) gives an excellent outline and bibliographies.

The sources for the beginnings of English expansion are to be sought principally in the *Calendars of State Papers*, Colonial Series, and in the extensive publications of the Hakluyt Society, old series, 94 vols., 1847–1896; new series, 15 vols., 1899–1907.

(For works on the English and French in India, see below.)

The French in India

WEBER, *La Compagnie française des Indes, 1604–1875*, 1904.

For the earlier adventures which led to Portuguese supremacy on the seas, consult MAJOR, *Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, the Navigator*,

1868. DANVERS, *The Portuguese in India*, 2 vols., 1894, the standard work on the subject, is based on a careful examination of the archives. It may be helpfully supplemented by STEPHENS, *Albuquerque and the Portuguese Settlements in India* (Rulers of India Series), 1892. The Portuguese

BURNELL and TIELE, *The Voyage of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, 2 vols., 1885 (Hakluyt Society Publications). This work serves as an excellent introduction to Dutch operations. The great source for the Dutch trading expeditions is the old *Recueil des voyages de la Compagnie des Indes orientales des Hollandois*, 10 vols., 1730. The Dutch

The best work on the foundation of Spanish dominion in America is BOURNE, *Spain in America* (American Nation Series), with excellent bibliography. The Spanish

FARRAND, *Basis of American History*, 1904. A critical account of the American world into which the settlers came. LODGE, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America*, 1881. A useful single-volume work. THWAITES, *The Colonies, 1492–1750*, 1894, in Epochs of American History. A remarkably compact work, with bibliographies. WILLSON, BECKLES, *The Great Company*, an account of the Hudson Bay Company. EDGAR, *The Struggle for a Continent*, 1902. The best concise history of the Anglo-French contest in America. The English in America

DOYLE, *The English in America*, 5 vols., 1882–1903, and OSGOOD, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, 3 vols., 1904–1907, are the authorities for the colonial period. CHANNING, *A History of the United States*, to be completed in 8 vols. Vols. I–II, covering the period 1000–1760 have appeared. An insight into the character of the colonial age is afforded by BRADFORD, *History of the Plymouth Colony;* COTTON MATHER, *Magnalia;* SMITH, *History of Virginia;* JOHNSON, *Wonder-Working Providence;* and BUDD, *Good Order established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 1685.

For the French in America, the voluminous writings of PARKMAN are indispensable.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, edited by THWAITES, 73 vols., 1896 *sqq*. A vast collection of the accounts of Jesuit explorations and activities in America.

BEER, *British Colonial Policy, 1754–1765*, 1907, should be studied by any one seeking the causes of the Revolution.

TREVELYAN, *The American Revolution*, 3 vols., 1899–1907, a useful corrective for the bias displayed by many American historians.

For a full bibliography the student will turn to CHANNING and HART, *Guide to the Study of American History*.

British India

LYALL, *The Rise of British Dominion in India*, 1893. The best short account. WILLSON, BECKLES, *Ledger and Sword*. An account of the policy of the English East India Company. HUNTER, *Brief History of the Indian Peoples* (especially valuable for native affairs); also, by the same author, *A History of British India*, 2 vols., 1899–1900. This excellent, fuller history breaks off unfortunately at the opening of the eighteenth century.

There are also useful books by MALLESON: *The Founders of the Indian Empire*, 1882; *History of the French in India*, 1868; and *Final French Struggles in India*, 1878.

India under Mohammedan rule

ELPHINSTONE, *History of India; the Hindu and Mohametan Periods*, 9th ed., 1905. An old but still valuable work.

The accounts of two French travelers (translated into English) are both interesting and useful: BERNIER, *Travels in the Mughul Empire, 1656–1668*, 1891; and TAVERNIER (1605–1689), *Travels in India*, 1889. MANUCCI, *Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653–1708*, is a work by an Italian traveler, giving a vivid picture of India in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

ELLIOTT, *History of India, as told by its own Historians*, 8 vols., 1867–1877. Contains selections from about one hundred and fifty works by Arabian, Persian, and native Indian annalists and chroniclers.

Sources for rise and development of the English Company

In the Hakluyt Society publications the following should be specially noted: *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, 2 vols., and *The Diary of Hedges*.

The East India Company: Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies, London, 1886. Based on the records of the court minutes of the Company, 1599–1603.

The East India Company: Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, 1602–1617, 6 vols., 1896–1902.

FOSTER, *The English Factories in India, 1618–1621*, 1907. A calendar of documents forming an invaluable supplement to the above.

Works on the establishment of English supremacy

For the French side, HAMONT, *Dupleix*, 1881, and *Lally-Tollendal*, 1887, are indispensable.

The biographies of Clive, Colonel Stringer Lawrence, and Captain Dalton, and the bibliographical notes attached, should be consulted in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Military affairs are fully treated in the work by ORME, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India from 1745 to 1761*, 3 parts, 1763–1778. A laborious work by an old Indian servant who had access to the Company's records and possessed large collections of documents of his own.

The best brief account of Warren Hastings is LYALL, *Warren Hastings* (English Men of Action Series). STRACHEY, *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, removes many misconceptions of Hastings's work in India. Warren Hastings

CHAPTERS VIII–XI

THE OLD RÉGIME IN EUROPE, THE REFORMERS, AND THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VII. This volume, now in preparation, will doubtless give a better account than has yet appeared in English of the general condition of Europe previous to the French Revolution. It will also contain elaborate bibliographies. The general social and economic conditions

The social conditions in England are described in SYDNEY, W. G., *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols., 1891; BESANT, SIR W., *London in the Eighteenth Century*, 1903 (very readable but not wholly reliable); CUNNINGHAM, W., *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, 2 vols., 1903 (the latest and most authoritative treatment); TRAILL, H. D., *Social England*, 1904 (a topical history by various hands. See Vol. V, especially chap. xix). These may be enlivened by MADAME D'ARBLAY, *Diary and Letters*; LORD CHESTERFIELD, *Letters and Sketches*; LADY MONTAGUE, *Letters*; and WALPOLE, HORACE, *Letters*. Also, MORITZ, K. P., *Travels, chiefly on Foot, through Several Parts of England in 1782*, in PINKERTON, *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II, 1808–1814. England

For France the best introduction in English is LOWELL, E. J., *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 1892. A more popular account, with illustrations, may be found in MACLEHOSE, SOPHIA H., *The Last Days of the French Monarchy*. France

DE TOCQUEVILLE, *State of Society in France before the Revolution*. A very remarkable philosophical treatise on the character and policy of the French government. This should be studied with the utmost care by all students of the period. A new edition of the French original, with introduction and notes, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1904.

TAINE, *The Ancient Régime*. A brilliant work. The chapters on the society, literature, and philosophy of the period are the best; those on the economic conditions are disappointing.

Translations and Reprints (Univ. of Pennsylvania), Vol. V, No. 2, *Protest of the Cour des Aides of 1775*. A very extraordinary indictment of the *Ancien Régime* presented to the king by his magistrates during

Turgot's administration. No single document on the *Ancien Régime* is better worth careful study.

YOUNG, ARTHUR, *Travels in France, 1787, 1788, and 1789*, Bohn edition (somewhat abridged). This oft-quoted work should be familiar to every student of the French Revolution.

In order to make a thorough study of the conditions in France and the other European countries it is necessary to turn to French and German works; among these the following are of great importance.

SOREL, ALBERT, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*. Vol. I of this monumental work is a brilliant account of the spirit of the *Ancien Régime* in France and Europe at large.

Histoire générale, edited by LAVISSE and RAMBAUD, Vol. VII. Excellent chapters with bibliographies by various French writers.

Babeau's monographs

BABEAU, A., *Le Village sous l'ancien régime*, 1878; *La Ville sous l'ancien régime*, 1880; *La Province sous l'ancien régime*, 2 vols., 1894; *La Vie rurale dans l'ancienne France*, 1883; *Les Artisans et les Domestiques d'autrefois*, 1886; *Les Bourgeois d'autrefois*, 1886; *Les Voyageurs en France depuis la renaissance jusqu'à la révolution*, 1885; etc. Careful studies of important phases of French life before the Revolution.

COGNEL, F., *La Vie parisienne sous Louis XVI*, 1882.

LEVASSEUR, *Histoire des classes ouvrières avant 1789* (2d ed., 1900–1901), Vol. II, and excellent chapter at opening of his *Histoire des classes ouvrières depuis 1789*. ST. LÉON, MARTIN, *Histoire des corporations des métiers*, 1897. KARÉIEW, *Les Paysans et la Question paysanne en France* (French translation, 1899). The older conditions, many of which continued to the Revolution, are described by SÉE, H., *Les Classes rurales et le Régime domanial en France au moyen âge*, 1901. AVENEL, VICOMTE DE, *Histoire économique de la propriété, des salaires, etc.*, 1894–1898, Vol. IV.

The *Cahiers*, prepared to be presented to the Estates General (see below, p. 407), are unrivaled in importance as a source for the conditions in France in the eighteenth century. See CHAMPION, *La France d'après les cahiers de 1789*, 1897.

Germany and Spain

For Germany: BIEDERMANN, KARL, *Deutschland im 18ten Jahrhundert*, 4 vols., 1880–1884. Treats of the intellectual, social, and moral life. The articles in CONRAD, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, often give good short sketches of the former economic conditions in Germany. For Spain: DU DEZERT, *L'Espagne de l'ancien régime*, 2 vols., 1897.

(The works mentioned below, dealing with the various enlightened despots, will serve to supplement those cited above.)

The Church

Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, translated by WATERWORTH, 1896. RANKE, *History of the Popes*, book ix. STOUGHTON, J., *Religion under Queen Anne and the Georges*, 2 vols., 1878. OVERTON, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*. SNELL, *Wesley and Methodism*, 1900. WAKEMAN, H. O., *Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, 1898. PERKINS, *France under Louis XV*, Vol. II, contains a short account of the dissolution of the Jesuits. CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, P., *L'Église et l'État, ou les Deux Puissances au XVIII^e siècle*, 1893. MENTION, L., *Documents relatifs aux rapports du clergé avec la royauté de 1682 à 1789*, 2 vols., 1893–1903 (in "Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire"). Contains many important documents. *Histoire générale*, Vol. VII, chap. xvii, on the Catholic Church (with bibliographies).

The English constitution in the eighteenth century

LECKY, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I, chap. iii (on Walpole and the cabinet system); Vol. II, chap. iv (on Parliament). MAY, *Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George the Third*, especially chaps. v–viii. MORLEY, *Walpole*. BLAUVELT, *The Development of Cabinet Government in England.*

Thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

HÖFFDING, HARALD, *A History of Modern Philosophy*, 2 vols., Macmillan, 1900. Vol. I gives excellent short accounts of the important thinkers from the time of Machiavelli to the French Revolution.

STEPHEN, LESLIE, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols., 3d ed., 1902. This is an admirable account of the English Deists. In the second volume the writer discusses the political theorists and the economists.

DUNNING, WILLIAM A., *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, Macmillan, 1905. Best compact account.

JANET, PAUL, *Histoire de la science politique dans ses rapports avec la morale*, 2 vols., 3d ed., 1887. Vol. II deals with great clearness with the various European writers on political science from Luther to the French Revolution.

ROBERTSON, J. M., *Short History of Free Thought*, 2 vols., 2d ed., 1906.

History of natural science

WILLIAMS, HENRY S., *A History of Science*, 5 vols., 1904. Vol. II gives a very interesting popular account of the progress of scientific discovery from the thirteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth.

Histoire générale, Vol. IV, chap. viii; Vol. V, chap. ix; Vol. VI, chap. x; Vol. VII, chap. xv, by P. Tannery, furnishes a more scholarly sketch of scientific advance in Europe from 1500 to the French Revolution.

The French Philosophers

ROCQUAIN, *The Revolutionary Spirit before the Revolution*, 1894. A condensation, omitting the valuable notes of the original French edition. A suggestive account of the various disturbances preceding the disorders of the Revolution itself. AUBERTIN, *L'Esprit publique au 18ième siècle*, 1872.

MORLEY, JOHN, *Voltaire*, a brilliant essay; *Rousseau*, 2 vols.; *Diderot and the Encyclopædists*, 2 vols.; *Critical Miscellanies*, 3 vols., containing essays on Turgot and other important persons of the period. Mr. Morley's writings are noteworthy not only for their scholarship and distinguished style but also for the fundamental sympathy between his views and many of those of the eighteenth-century philosophers. See also COLLINS, J. C., *Voltaire in England*, 1886.

SOREL, *Montesquieu*. A useful little biography. HIGGS, H., *The Physiocrats*, 1897. SAY, LÉON, *Turgot*. Very valuable review of Turgot's work. INGRAM, J. K., *History of Political Economy*, 1907.

Sources in English

VOLTAIRE'S writings (e.g. *The Philosophical Dictionary*), MONTESQUIEU'S *Spirit of Laws* (in the Bohn Library), ROUSSEAU'S *Social Contract* and *Émile* are readily procured in English.

STEPHENS, W. W., *Life and Writings of Turgot*. Contains extracts from the preambles to Turgot's decrees.

The Enlightened Despots

The works relating to Frederick the Great have been mentioned above (p. 395). RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, gives a short account of Catherine's reforms, which should be supplemented by BRÜCKNER, *Katharina die Zweite*. COXE, *House of Austria*, Vol. III, contains an excellent account of Joseph II. See also RITTER, K., *Kaiser Joseph II und seine kirchlichen Reformen*, 1869. For Charles III of Spain, ADDISON, *Charles III of Spain* (the Stanhope Essay for 1900); also HUME, *Spain, its Greatness and Decay*. Above all, ROUSSEAU, *Règne de Charles III*, 2 vols., 1907.

France under Louis XVI

For the reign of Louis XVI and the events leading up to the French Revolution: *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chaps. i–v; see also MACLEHOSE, *Last Days of the French Monarchy*; and LOWELL, *Eve of the French Revolution*. The more satisfactory works are naturally in French. GOMEL, *Les Causes financières de la révolution française*, 2 vols. In spite of the title of this work, it is really the best general account of the antecedents of the Revolution; clear, fair-minded, and accurate. JOBEZ, *La France sous Louis XVI*, 3 vols., 1885. An excellent general history of events of the reign. *Histoire de France*, edited by LAVISSE: Vol. VIII, Part II (*Louis XV*) by CARRÉ; and Vol. IX (*Louis XVI*,

1774–1789) by CARRÉ. These volumes are announced. Also, by same writer, *La France sous Louis XV*, 1891.

MERCY-ARGENTEAU, *Correspondance secrète avec l'impératrice Marie-Thérèse, avec les lettres de Marie-Thérèse et de Marie-Antoinette*, 3 vols., 1875; and *Correspondance secrète avec l'empereur Joseph II et le prince de Kaunitz*, 2 vols., 1889–1891. An extraordinary collection of information, which the sagacious Comte de Mercy transmitted to Vienna from 1766 to 1790.

CHAPTERS XII–XIII

The French Revolution

General treatments in English

MATHEWS, *The French Revolution*, perhaps the best general short account. *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII. Deals not only with the general movement but contains admirable chapters on special phases of the reform. FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*. Begins with the opening of the war in 1792; clear and concise.

STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *A History of the French Revolution*, 2 vols., 1886–1891 (the third volume, which should bring down the story to the close of the Reign of Terror, has unfortunately never appeared). This is by far the best account to be had in English, perhaps in any language. It is free from both partisanship and sentimentality, and is based on the results of modern French scholarship. Its inaccuracies in detail do not impair its essential value. The same author in his *Europe, 1789–1815*, 1893, furnishes a good summary of the political history of the revolutionary period.

TAINE, *The French Revolution* (from the French), 3 vols. Covers the period 1789–1794. A brilliant arraignment of many of the leaders of the Revolution, which the author treats in an unsympathetic spirit. His style, insight, and research, however, serve to give his work both marked originality and value in spite of its many errors and faults.

CARLYLE, *The French Revolution*, originally published in 1837; new edition with notes by Fletcher and another edition edited by Rose. This famous bit of literature can scarcely be termed a history; it is a brilliant and erratic commentary on the men and ideas of the times, full of profound observation, not unmixed with highly colored trivialities and inconsequential reflections. Profitable and amusing for one familiar with the actual course of events.

LECKY, *England in the Eighteenth Century*; chaps. xviii–xx on the French Revolution. These have been published in a separate volume (Appleton).

Special phases

SLOANE, *The French Revolution and Religious Reform*. An account of the ecclesiastical legislation and its influence on affairs in France from 1789 to 1804 (1901).

MALLET, B., *Mallet du Pan and the French Revolution*, 1902. A sympathetic account of a well-known journalist.

BELLOC, *Danton*, and by the same writer, *Robespierre*. Two readable biographies.

MORLEY, *Critical Miscellanies*. Some of these essays are concerned with the revolutionary leaders and thinkers.

MAHAN, *Influence of the Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, 2 vols. The author aims to explain the successes of Great Britain by her control of the seas.

The sources in English

Very few of the sources are to be had in English. The following may be noted.

The Annual Register for the period contains some documents.

ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents illustrative of the History of France, 1789–1901*. Gives important state papers.

YOUNG, ARTHUR, *Travels* (see above, p. 400). For the opening of the Estates General.

MORRIS, GOUVERNEUR, *Diary and Letters*, 2 vols., 1888. Observations of an American.

The Correspondence of William Augustus Miles on the French Revolution, 1789–1817, 2 vols., 1890.

PASQUIER, *History of my Time, Memoirs*, 1893–1894, Vol. I. Marked by a rather keen insight into the significance of contemporary events.

RIGBY, E., *Letters from France in 1789*, 1880.

MALLET DU PAN, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, ed. SAYOUS, 2 vols., 1852.

FERSEN, *Diary and Correspondence relating to the Court of France*, 1892.

Most of the memoirs mentioned below (p. 409), relating mainly to the Napoleonic period, have something to say of the Revolution.

Burke and Thomas Paine

Some notion of the attitude of certain conservative Englishmen toward the Revolution may be found in Burke's famous *Reflections on the French Revolution*, — a wild and indiscriminate attack upon the whole movement. It was answered by Thomas Paine in his celebrated tract, *The Rights of Man*, a defense of the cause of the people.

The American Historical Review, Vol. XI, pp. 529 *sqq.*, contains an article by J. H. Robinson on "Recent Tendencies in the Study of the French Revolution," with references to the newer books.

Material for advanced study

AULARD, *L'Histoire politique de la révolution française, 1789–1804*, 1901. Recent, and by one who has devoted years to a sympathetic study of the revolutionary movement.

Sorel's great work

SOREL, ALBERT, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, 8 vols. (coming down to 1815), 1885–1904, Vols. II–IV. This extraordinary work supersedes all others on the subject. While it is a history of the effects of the Revolution throughout Europe, it contains excellent chapters on the course of events in Paris and France. The later volumes cover the Napoleonic period.

JAURÈS, *Histoire socialiste, 1789–1900*. Vols. I–IV by JAURÈS on *Constituante, Legislative et Convention jusqu'au 9 Thermidor;* and Vol. V by DEVILLE, *Du 9 Thermidor au 18 Brumaire.*

Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la révolution et de l'empire, 1789–1815, 2 vols., 1899. Useful work of reference.

Special works

CHÉREST, *La Chute de l'ancien régime*, 3 vols., 1884–1886 (uncompleted). A very detailed study of the years 1786–1789.

CHAMPION, *La France d'après les cahiers de 1789*. Admirable.

CHASSIN, *Le Génie de la révolution*, 2 vols., 1863–1865. A study of the *cahiers*.

STERN, *Das Leben Mirabeaus*, 2 vols., 1889.

GOMEL, *Histoire financière de l'Assemblée constituante*, 2 vols., 1896–1897. Excellent. See also for this and the later period, STOURM, *Les Finances de l'ancien régime et de la révolution*, 2 vols., 1885.

SAGNAC, *La Législation civile de la révolution française, 1789–1804*, 1898. Very important.

SCIOUT, *Histoire de la constitution civile du clergé, 1790–1801*, 4 vols., 1872–1881.

CHAMPION, *La séparation de l'église et de l'état en 1794*. A remarkable little volume.

AULARD, *La Révolution et les Congrégations*, 1903. Gives documents in convenient form.

CAMPARDAN, *Le Tribunal révolutionnaire de Paris*, 2 vols., 1886.

ROBINET, *Le Mouvement religieux pendant la révolution, 1789–1801*, 1896.

MORTIMER-TERNAUX, *Histoire de la Terreur*, 8 vols., 1862 (uncompleted). Contains many interesting documents.

WALLON, *La Terreur*, 2 vols., 1881. This author has also issued two other important and elaborate contributions to the history of the Reign of Terror: *Histoire du tribunal révolutionnaire de Paris*, and *Les Représentants du peuple en mission.*

VATEL, *Vergniaud*, 2 vols., 1873; and *Charlotte Corday et les Girondins: pièces classées et annotées*, 3 vols., 1864–1872.

BIRE, *La Legende des girondins*. Refutes some common errors.

HÉRICAULT, *La Révolution de Thermidor*, 1876.

CHUQUET, *Les Guerres de la révolution*, 1886–1896, 11 vols. (coming down only to September, 1793).

L'Œuvre sociale de la révolution française. A series of excellent essays by Faguet and others.

Biographies of the revolutionary leaders

Of the biographies, some of the best are:

CLARETIE, J., *Camille Desmoulins, Lucille Desmoulins: Étude sur les dantonistes*, 1875. Charming. To be had in an English translation.

CHEVREMONT, *Marat*, 2 vols., 1880. DAUBAN, *Étude sur Madame Roland et son temps*, 2 vols., 1864. HAMEL, *Histoire de Robespierre*, 3 vols. Excessively laudatory. MALLET, *Mallet du Pan and the French Revolution*, 1902. ROBINET, *Danton*, 1889.

AULARD, *Les Orateurs de l'Assemblée constituante*, 1882, and *Les Orateurs de la Législative et de la Convention*.

La Révolution française. A periodical edited by AULARD, 1881 *sqq.*, and dedicated to a study of the Revolution.

The sources

The advanced student should be on his guard against losing himself in the bewildering number of secondary works on the Revolution, and should early acquaint himself with the scope and character of the chief collections of sources, of which the most important are:

BUCHEZ et ROUX, *Histoire parlementaire de la révolution française*, 40 vols., 1834–1838. This contains extracts from the debates in the Assembly, with the text of some of the important decrees. It gives quotations from the newspapers and from the speeches in the Jacobin and other political clubs, etc. Notwithstanding very defective tables of contents, this has been the mainstay of many writers, and is still very valuable, by reason of its comprehensiveness and cheapness; the forty volumes are procurable in Paris for from fifteen to twenty dollars.

The newspapers

Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur (several editions), 32 vols. This is a reprint of one of the most important newspapers of the revolutionary period. It can be bought for about twenty dollars. Copies of other important newspapers may be found in our best libraries.

Archives parlementaires de 1787–1860, first series, 1787–1799, of which some 66 volumes have appeared, reaching the middle of the year 1793. This is an official but not very critical collection of the debates in the successive French legislative bodies, and occasionally includes

other useful material. Vol. I contains an excellent account of the events preceding the opening of the Estates General.

Collections of the *cahiers*

Vols. II–VI of the *Archives parlementaires* contain the most complete collection as yet in existence of the *cahiers;* but a commission, of which Jaurès is chairman, was established in 1903 to publish the sources for the economic history of the French Revolution. This is issuing as complete an edition as is feasible of the local *cahiers*, several volumes of which have already appeared.

Great collections of materials

Much attention has been given in the past twenty years to the publication of documents, especially in Paris. The following collections are important: Brette, *Recueil des documents relatifs à la convocation des états généraux*, 2 vols., 1894–1896; Aulard, *La Société des jacobins*, 6 vols., 1889–1897; *Recueil des actes du Comité de salut publique*, 16 vols., 1889–1904.

Mirabeau, *Correspondance avec le comte de la Marck*, 3 vols., 1851. Very important. Stephens, H. Morse, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution, 1789–1795*, 2 vols., Clarendon Press. Very useful.

Legg, *Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the French Revolution, The Constituent Assembly*, 2 vols., Clarendon Press, 1905. An admirable "source book." The comments are in English; the extracts are reproduced in the original French.

Memoirs

Of the many memoirs, perhaps the most important are those of Bailly, Ferrières, Mallet du Pan, Malouet, the Comte de Fersen, etc.[1]

CHAPTERS XIV–XVI

The Napoleonic Period and the Reconstruction of Europe at the Congress of Vienna

General treatments in English

Johnston, *Napoleon.* A most excellent short account. *The Cambridge Modern History*, end of Vol. VIII and Vol. IX. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I.

Fournier, August, *Napoleon the First, A Biography*, 1903; English translation from the German, edited by Professor E. G. Bourne. The best treatment in one volume; scholarly, well written, gives much attention to the general European situation, and is supplied with an extensive and admirable bibliography.

[1] See bibliographies in *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, and in the *Histoire générale*, Vol. VIII.

ROSE, J. H., *The Life of Napoleon I*, 2 vols., 1902 (second cheaper edition in one volume). A careful, up-to-date account, mainly political; fuller than Fournier's and perhaps more interesting.

SLOANE, WILLIAM M., *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 4 vols., 4to, magnificently illustrated. A new and cheaper library edition is to be issued. One of the great standard biographies, based upon a long and careful study of the sources. The author confines himself mainly to the personal history of Napoleon, giving much attention to his early years, and makes no attempt to write the history of Europe during the Napoleonic period.

LANFREY, PIERRE, *History of Napoleon*, 4 vols. Translated from the French. This work was interrupted by the author's death, and reaches only to the close of 1811. While the writer makes constant use of the best of sources, Napoleon's own letters, his attitude is unfair, and the motives ascribed for Napoleon's policy are always the lowest. The work forms an excellent antidote to that of Thiers (see below).

THIERS, *History of the Consulate and Empire*. Several editions of the English translation are available. Thiers shows an unmistakable tendency, especially in the earlier half of his work, unduly to glorify the Napoleonic régime. The sources relied upon are, moreover, very rarely cited. The work is, nevertheless, important and is probably the most interesting history in twenty volumes ever written.

TAINE, *The French Revolution*, Vol. III (on the Directory). By the same writer, *The Modern Régime*, 2 vols., 1894; especially Vol. I, Book I, in which the author gives in a short space the most brilliant, fascinating, and suggestive analysis of Napoleon's genius ever written. The remainder of the work is a critical estimate of the influence of the institutions established by Napoleon upon the later history of France.

SEELEY, *Life and Times of Stein, or Germany and Prussia in the Napoleonic Age*, 3 vols., 1878.

MAHAN, *Influence of the Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, 2 vols.

FISHER, H. A. L., *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship, Germany*, 1903.

DORMAN, *A History of the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I (1793–1805), 1902.

OMAN, *History of the Peninsular War*, Vols. I–II, 1903.

BIGELOW, P., *History of the German Struggle for Liberty*.

Some sources available in English

BINGHAM, *A Selection from the Letters and Despatches of the First Napoleon*, 3 vols., 1884.

ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Documents illustrative of the History of France, 1789–1901*. Contains translations of many important documents.

New Letters of Napoleon I edited by LECESTRE (Appleton) (omitted from the great collection of his correspondence).

The *Memoirs* of Napoleon dictated on the island of St. Helena are by no means wholly reliable, but are, nevertheless, very interesting and important. Among the memoirs of his companions on St. Helena to be had in English are LAS CASES, *The Journal of St. Helena* (see above, pp. 366 *sqq.*); MONTHOLON, *History of the Captivity of Napoleon*, 1846; *A Diary of St. Helena* (containing conversations of Napoleon with Sir Malcolm), 1899; GOURGAUD, *Journal*, Chicago, 1903.

Memoirs

A considerable number of the innumerable memoirs relating to the Napoleonic period have been translated. Among these the most conspicuous are those by MADAME DE RÉMUSAT, relating to the early years of the empire (excellent); BOURRIENNE, very well known and especially valuable for Napoleon's earlier life; MIOT DE MELITO, one of King Joseph's companions (excellent); PASQUIER, SÉGUR, TALLEYRAND, 5 vols.; MÉNEVAL, 3 vols.; MARBOT, 2 vols., etc. *Narrative of Captain Coignet*, translated by Mrs. CAREY. A striking account of the life of a simple-minded soldier.

Material for advanced study

LAVISSE and RAMBAUD, *Histoire générale*, Vol. IX. Excellent.

SCIOUT, *Le Directoire*, 2 vols., 1895.

SOREL, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, Vols. V–VIII, 1795–1815 (see above, p. 405).

SYBEL, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit*, Vols. IV–V (on the Directory).

CHUQUET, *La Jeunesse de Napoléon*, 3 vols.

LEFEBVRE, *Histoire des cabinets de l'Europe*, 2d ed., 5 vols., 1866–1869. Perhaps the best diplomatic history.

HAUSSONVILLE, *L'Église romaine et le Premier Empire*, 5 vols.

VANDAL, *Napoléon et Alexandre*, 3 vols., 1891 *sqq.*

WELSCHINGER, *La Censure sous le premier empire*, 1882.

HÄUSSER, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 4 vols. A readable and scholarly treatment of the period between the death of Frederick the Great and the close of the Napoleonic period. More recent accounts may be found in DENIS, E., *L'Allemagne, 1789–1810*, 1896; HEIGEL, *Deutsche Geschichte;* and ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. I, 1806–1815.

BAUMGARTEN, *Geschichte Spaniens*, Vol. I.

The various monographs and special histories of this period are enumerated in FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, pp. 745–788. See also KIRCHEISEN, *Bibliographie Napoléons*, 1903; LUMBROSO also has an elaborate bibliography of Napoleonic literature in course of publication, 1894 *sqq.*

Sources

Chief of all the sources is Napoleon's correspondence in 32 volumes. While some important letters have been suppressed (see *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Vol. XXIV, p. 792), this vast collection throws light upon almost every act of Napoleon's public life. It may be had for some twenty dollars, and should be in every good historical library.

NAPOLEON, *Mémoires*, 8 vols., 1823. (New edition in the *Correspondance*, Vols. XXIX–XXXII.) Dictated by Napoleon to his companions on the island of St. Helena, and naturally giving a more favorable idea of his policy than is derived from the correspondence.

Besides the various memoirs mentioned above, we have those of Napoleon's brothers, Lucien, Joseph, and Louis, and of his ministers and generals, Marmont, Rapp, Davout, etc. To these may be added MOLLIEN, *Souvenirs d'un ministre du Trésor*, new edition by Gomel, 1898; THIBAUDEAU, *Mémoires sur le consulat;* VÉRON, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris;* CHAPTAL, *Mes Souvenirs sur Napoléon*, 1893.

Settlement at the Congress of Vienna

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, chaps. xix and xxi. *Histoire générale*, Vol. X, chaps. i–ii. Both of these give excellent bibliographies.

HERTSLET, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, Vol. I (for documents).

SOREL, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, Vol. VIII.

Correspondance inédite de Talleyrand et du roi Louis XVIII pendant le congrès de Vienne, ed. POLLAIR. Also in English translation.

DEBIDOUR, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe, 1814–1891*, Vol. I.

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